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ABSTRACT

This volume presents six keynote papers submitted by noted scholars to the Working Group on Mass Media and Developing Nations at the International Scientific Conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research held at Leipzig, Germany, in September 1974. The following titles are included: "Mass Media and Developing Nations: A Global Perspective of Mass Communication and Its Research" (Kaarle Nordenstreng), "The Press in the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa: Its Social and Class Character and Function" (Azad Khadian Talivaya Ibragimov), "Mass Media in the Developing World: Four Conundrums" (John A. Lent), "Tasks and Problems of Mass Media in the Political, Ideological, Economic, and Cultural Process of Transformations in the Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa" (Werner Ullrich), "Communication Research in Latin America: The Blindfolded Inquiry?" (Luis Ramiro Baltran S.), and "The Formation and Development of National Languages and Their Importance for the Creation of Indigenous Mass Media in Africa" (Siegmund Brauner). (KS)

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DEVELOPING WORLD AND MASS MEDIA

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THE CHALLENGE TO MASS MEDIA IN DEVELOPING WORLD

This volume presents six keynote papers submitted by noted scholars to the Working Group on Mass Media and Developing Nations at the International Scientific Conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research held at Leipzig, GDR, in September 1974. The theme of the Conference was "The Contribution of the Mass Media to the Development of Consciousness in a Changing World".

We have selected what we believe to be a representative cross-section of progressive international opinion. The papers in this volume attempt to outline some of the major problems encountered by the mass media in the emerging nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as to give a wide-ranging perspective of the present state of mass communications.

We intend to continue our systematic research into this challenging subject in keeping with the declared aim of the International Organization of Journalists to assist in every possible way their members and colleagues in developing countries in their vital professional and social activities.

MASS MEDIA AND DEVELOPING NATIONS:

A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE PRESENT STATE OF MASS COMMUNICATION AND ITS RESEARCH

by Kaarle NORDENSTRENG
University of Tampere, Finland

An address delivered at the International Scientific Conference of the International Association for Mass Communication Research, Karl Marx University, Leipzig, GDR, September 17, 1974

How should we characterize the current global scene in mass communication, particularly from the point of view of the developing countries?

As far as the actual process of mass communication is concerned, at least four features stand out in a global perspective.

First, there is the well-known imbalance of resources between large industrialized countries and the so-called have-nots, which apart from the Third World include a number of smaller industrialized countries. Material and mental resources for the production and distribution of all manner of information are concentrated in the same centres as most of the world's economic, military and political power. The distribution of communication resources in the world is strikingly disproportionate to the distribution of population and the information needs of the peoples. Out of the abundance of hard facts indicating this situation, one example may suffice by way of illustration: our world uses paper for communication purposes at an average rate of some fifteen kilograms per person per annum /of this almost half newsprint/; in actual fact, however, a North American consumes as much as sixty kilos, the average African just 1.5 kilos.

Bound up with this imbalance of resources is a second salient feature in the global communications scene: the imbalance of flow between countries and particularly

between a few dominant Western powers and most of the nations of the Third World. Quantitatively it may be estimated that the total flow of communication taking place between the industrialized part of the world /inhabited by some one third of mankind/ and the Third World /comprising about two thirds/ takes place at least a hundred times more in the direction from industrialized to developing countries than vice versa. Television programming is typical of this "one-way street" principle: the streams of heavy traffic flow one way only.

It is further to be noted that extensions of communication technology to the developing parts of the world have not generally resulted in more balanced information flows between them and the industrialized countries. For instance, satellites have up to now only confirmed the traditional patterns of flow, and future prospects afford not only educational and social promises such as exemplified by the current American Rocky Mountain and Indian experiments with direct broadcasting satellites but - perhaps most strikingly - what was recently echoed by the American publication Advertising Age /May 20, 1974/ under the title "Direct satellite-to-receiver TV will spur Third World advertising": "The real significance of satellite TV broadcasting for a developing nation is that it permits a

broadcaster to assemble a market from scattered communities and scattered households, with adequate purchasing power to be interesting, that no ground antenna network could economically reach."

Not unrelated to the quantitative imbalance are the qualitative aspects of the messages which the mass media are transmitting to audiences in the developing countries. The third feature characterizing today's world scene in this field might be called irrelevance of content to the social and cultural problems encountered by these countries. Luis Beltran, in his contribution to this Conference, calls this feature the "non-developmental mass media content"; in the case of Latin America he gives a great deal of research evidence supporting the dubious nature of media contents, as for instance this: "Studies specifically concerned with mass communication as related to rural development have found that even those messages specially addressed to farmers are geared - in content and form - exclusively to a minority among these, the city-based large land-owners." John Lent again concludes in his paper: "... whereas in colonial societies media were used by élite colonialists to keep abreast of happenings in the mother country and of other colonialists, in the post-independence period media were used by native élites and white-collar groups to communicate with other élites and white-collar groups." On the other hand, as Beltran also points out, advertising and other popular material ad-

dressed to wide masses is of vital importance in the process of "... instilling in the population values alien to the national cultures, stimulating irrational buying behaviour and inducing evasion of reality and an uncritical conformity with the status quo".

Such a situation is clearly in harmony with certain interests within or outside society, and in fact it might be misleading to call this feature "irrelevance" since any media output is functional to some social forces. It is from the point of view of the development process itself that the media contents are globally speaking problematic if not devastating. Some of us might not like to make such a harsh evaluation of the media performance - some even prefer an academic abstention from all consideration of the contents because they think "freedom of the press" would be at risk - but it is impossible to stand aloof, for after all content is the core of communication. When a communication researcher withdraws himself from a critical evaluation of media content - e.g. by labelling it "moralization" - he is taking a stand on the issue: on the side of the status quo, against change and for the politico-economic power structures which have created the present situation.

The fourth notable feature in the current world arena of mass communications is the fundamental difference that the social system of a country makes for the operation of

the mass media. The world today is divided not only into industrial and developing countries but also into capitalist and socialist societies. Accordingly, developing countries may be classified in two broad categories: those in the capitalist line of development and those in the non-capitalist or socialist path. The three previous features mostly apply to the capitalist part of the Third World only - as indeed most of the communication research carried out /at least in Western countries/ tends to be limited to the capitalist countries.

About a third of the world's population lives today in a socialist society, and the number and political importance of the developing countries which have chosen the non-capitalist road is increasingly significant. We researchers - at least we from capitalist countries - know little about mass media conditions in socialist countries, but two observations can still be made concerning the non-capitalist developing countries. First, the problems implied in the above-mentioned three global features, and particularly the problem of the developmental relevance of media contents, are certainly less marked and easier to cope with in a socialist system - since many of these problems are simply a consequence of the capitalist market economy itself. Secondly, socialist development from a feudal or colonial-capitalist basis can hardly take place without problems affecting the mass media: even if the anarchic planning and the profit-

-oriented management of the capitalist media systems have been replaced by rational planning and socially determined media systems, a satisfactory functioning of the mass media along the non-capitalist path of development implies serious dilemmas, if evidently less fundamental than those faced under conditions of capitalism. The papers of Anwar Al-Ghassani and Lofti Nassif illuminate these problems with Arab countries of the non-capitalist order as examples. For instance, Al-Ghassani argues that despite the change in the socio-economic system the basic attitude towards the media has remained unchanged: "One can even say that the elimination of private property in the media helped the parties and the state /the latter in particular/ to exercise direct administrative control over the media instead of promoting the free development of the media and introducing a radical change in the character and function of such an important institution... This way of dealing with the media stands against the very principle of the national democratic revolution which the leading forces themselves propagate."

By and large, inadequacy may be a proper overall term with which to characterize the present mass media institutions and their operation seen in a global perspective and particularly from the point of view of the developing countries. This overall evaluation of the mass media, it should be noted, is not based on careless subjective opinions

but on a comprehensive consideration of objective conditions. It is another matter that many of those critics of the present media who do not start from a scientific analysis but rather from political, religious or other "moralizing" viewpoints are equally convinced of their current inadequacy and sometimes in fact end up with arguments similar to those above.

The latter, less scientific and more moralizing concern about the functioning of today's mass communications should not be overlooked as another ill-grounded flood of political or moral propaganda. Rather it is an indication of yet another central feature in today's global scene: a growing awareness of the objective problems concerned, problems such as those listed above. We, communication researchers and media practitioners, are not alone in our concern about the present and future policies of the media; there is a growing number of serious politicians and a widening circle of enlightened public opinion basically sharing our analytical point of view. The more determined and public formulation of comprehensive national communication policies is a manifestation of this development, as is the increased attention given to international communication policies within the framework of the United Nations and not least UNESCO, for instance in their debates and decisions on direct broadcasting satellites.

As a concrete demonstration of this growing awareness let me point out that in its Medium-Term Plan for 1977-1982, to be approved by the forthcoming Eighteenth General Conference, UNESCO significantly suggests that the traditional concept of free flow of information "needs to be complemented by that of a more balanced and objective flow, both between countries and within and between regions." Furthermore, we have been witnessing in recent times a critical re-evaluation of the free flow concept even by top politicians such as the head of a non-aligned state: "Just as within Finland there is a situation in the press described as bourgeois hegemony, on the international arena there is a state of affairs called communication imperialism... Could it be that the prophets who preach unhindered communication are not concerned with equality between nations, but are on the side of the stronger and wealthier?... More and more it can be seen that a mere liberalistic freedom of communication is not in everyday reality a neutral ideal, but a way in which an enterprise with many resources at its disposal has greater opportunities than weaker brethren to make its own hegemony accepted..."

Besides such growing political and public awareness of the objective problems involved in mass communications, another feature characteristic of evaluation of the situation deserves mention here, namely a manifest deepening of analysis. This trend is noticeable in the comprehen-

sive approach - or "total system approach", as it is called by Herbert Schiller - now increasingly taking precedence over the atomistic approach of fragmentary studies, as advocated by UNESCO's Proposals for an International Program of Communication Research /COM/MD/20/ published three years ago. Concomitant with the deepening of analysis in such a wide perspective is naturally an increased importance attached to social and economic factors in describing and explaining communication phenomena; on a global scale this means that communication flows and structures are basically seen as another component of the world economic system. Thus also the term "communication imperialism" should not be understood as referring to a separate phenomenon but rather as a particular aspect of a single mechanism of imperialism determined by economic relations between nations /and socio-economic relations with them/.

In fact there is a paradoxical situation whereby communication research, which by its very nature is concerned with the processing and cultivation of the human consciousness, is building increasingly on material factors and seems thereby to be more and more merging with a general study of society in a sociological, economic or political context. Seen against past research tradition this trend may well be welcome in eliminating an undue self-sufficiency in communication research as something unique and separate from other social sciences, and also introducing more materialistic elements in a field which in the Western hemi-

sphere has been particularly biased towards an idealistic philosophical orientation.

It is not our task here to discuss in detail such trends in research tradition and to seek explanations for changes in research policy. However, in the present context we should note that economic and material factors are breaking through not only in communication research but in the social sciences in general and indeed in practically all fields of public policy. A few years ago the industrialized section of the capitalist world was still quite confidently looking to the future and generating ideologies, including much social-scientific research, mainly concerned with the psychological well-being or quality of life of those living in a welfare society with a fairly stable and ever-expanding economic-material basis. But this is no longer so at a time of unprecedented inflation and unemployment, industrial disputes and strikes, oil and currency crises as well as social problems of crime, narcotics, etc. Currently not only Marxist observers but bourgeois experts as well say that world capitalism is being shaken by an overall crisis the roots of which lie in material and economic problems rather than having mental origins, as for example in communication phenomena.

Consequently, the preoccupation of political decision-makers as well as social scientists seems, at least in Western industrialized countries, to be returning to an analysis and control of vital socio-economic problems. The same

trend is amplified on a global scale by the Third World's willingness to view population problems as a matter of socio-economic development instead of an issue of birth control /including information thereon/, as was recently seen at the UN Population Conference in Bucharest. Yet it would be fatally wrong to conclude that matters of communication and human consciousness have at this historical stage ceased to be of importance in society and the world in general. Paradoxical as it may at first glance appear, current tendencies in the world have if anything increased the significance of mass communication for the development of the social system, in industrialized as well as developing countries. Since the material problems encountered by the worl today are largely the consequence of a political-economic system it is only natural that an ideological battle in the human mind has become more and more strategically important.

As researchers, practitioners, policy-makers and educators in the field of mass communications we will certainly have an increasingly central role to play in the development of the world during the critical years to come. In order to meet the challenge, however, we need a serious reappraisal of past theories and practices. For instance, in studies on social change the ahistorical view of development has to be abandoned which, as Peter Golding has pointed out, sees developing countries "emerging from

static isolation, requiring an external stimulus to shake them into the twentieth century" and conceives their "future as a bigger version of the present, the liberal theory of progress; modernism is the accumulation of more consumer goods and the adoption of values and ideals tried in the Western world".

We need more genuinely historical research accompanied by studies of the process of mass communication carried out in the context of political science and macro-economics. We need unprejudiced programs and measures for communication policies both in industrialized and developing countries of a capitalist as well as socialist order. And we need new models of journalistic training in order to better serve the pressing needs of the developing countries. We are aware of the broad directions of change: "The obvious alternatives, of course, are local ownership, indigenous contents, locally trained personnel and use of native language and culture," to take another quotation from Lent's paper. This indeed is easier said than done, but we still have a number of more practical recommendations given, e.g., by various experts meetings /such as the Symposium on the International Flow of Tele ision Programs held at Tampere, Finland, in May 1973/.

We are no doubt only at the beginning of a long road and much more detailed work is needed - mobilized by occasions like this Conference. In any case it seems to me that communication research has never before possessed such

a potential to contribute to the solution of social problems, since this field of study has by now succeeded fairly well in identifying its scientific and socio-political context and significantly adopting a policy-oriented and progressive "research philosophy". And what is equally important in an international perspective, our field, like any human activity, may benefit from the current process of normalization or détente taking place in the political relations between most countries despite all the crises the world still faces. This very Conference held here in Leipzig is a manifestation of increased international cooperation across different social systems and I think also of a recognition in principle that information flows should serve the mutual understanding of the peoples and the cause of peace.

In fact this would seem an appropriate occasion to repeat what was stated almost a year ago at the World Conference of Peace Forces in Moscow, attended by over one thousand national parties and organizations from a wide political spectrum, in the final document of the commission on cooperation in the field of education, culture and mass media:

> "We have met in a period when the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence offers better opportunities than men have ever had before them for expanding and strengthening cooperation between nations in the field

of culture and education in the interests of consolidating world peace and safeguarding the just cause of freedom and national independence of peoples.

"The time has come to continue with greater effort a constructive dialogue among representatives of various cultural and educational fields in order to eliminate mutual misunderstandings, the efforts and relapses of the cold war which interfere with normal mutual exchange and cooperation of cultures."

THE PRESS IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA: ITS SOCIAL AND CLASS CHARACTER AND FUNCTION

by Azad Khadian Talivaya IBRAGIMOV
USSR

The systematic study of the press in the developing countries has in recent years grown into a special branch of the science of journalism. This has been due, on the one hand, to the successes of the national liberation movement and to the increasing share staked out by the developing countries in the affairs of the contemporary world, in international policy, the world economy and culture, and, on the other hand, to the growing role played by the periodic press and other news media in these countries. National newspapers, which no major news agency can afford to ignore, were founded and have since consolidated their position.

A large number of studies, including several big monographies, were published on this subject. The pioneer in this field is undoubtedly Professor Wilbur Schramm who, at the request of UNESCO, published in 1964 his treatise "Mass Media and National Development". This book,

which contains a wealth of factual material and plenty of practical advice, has gained great popularity in the developing countries and seen already several re-editions. However, this book as well as other scientific papers published subsequently did not contain the essential analysis of questions of a socio-class character and of the specific functions of the press. In our view these questions are the principal and determining element in the study of the press in the developing countries.

In the Marxist-Leninist theory of journalism the press is an important sphere of socio-political activity and has a decidedly class character. We can divide it into two essentially different types - Communist and capitalist. To which type do the national press and the other mass media in the developing countries belong? This is not always easy to determine in view of the complexity of the class structure and of the socio-political situation in the developing countries. The press in the young countries of Asia and Africa is heterogeneous. It reflects diverse ideological and political streams. There are publications which actively champion their revolutionary-democratic editorial policy. There are others whose progressive position is limited to certain issues and inconsistent on others, and there are overtly reactionary and conservative publications as well. Certain newspapers in the developing countries contain individual features of the

Communist type of press, others resemble in content and form the capitalist bourgeois press. Just as the whole "Third World" so the press of these countries is being shaped under the influence of the basic contradiction of today - the contradiction between Socialism and capitalism. An anti-imperialist position and the common interest in national and socio-economic development is the one feature shared by many periodicals published in the countries of Asia and Africa. But the class character of this or that periodical comes out more clearly in accordance with the social structure of society. The class struggle is clearly reflected in the press of those countries where until recently the theory of "class harmony" and of the "supra-class unity of the nation" used to prevail. One cannot fail to notice this.

The defining of the class positions and political aspirations not only of newspapers and magazines but also of the radio and television is therefore supremely important for the objective determination of the character and role of the mass media and propaganda apparatus in the national and social liberation of the nations of the former colonial countries.

The author applies the class principle to the analysis of the press in developing countries and according to him it is possible to divide the press into the following five large groups:

1/ the press of the national bourgeoisie,

2/ the revolutionary-democratic press,

3/ the Communist press /these first three groupings should be regarded as the national press/,

4/ the press of local monopolistic capital,

5/ the press published by foreign monopolistic corporations.

1. The national bourgeois press played at one time an important role in the liberation movement of Asian and African countries. For example, the newspapers "Young India", "Navadjivani" and "Haridjan" edited by Mahatma Gandhi instilled a spirit of patriotism into the people of India and boldly exposed the machinations of colonial rule. Patrice Lumumba's "Indépendance" contributed a great deal to the achievement of Congo's /now Zaire/ independence. This also applies to the Tunisian paper "Action" and to the "Accra Evening News". The opportunities for progress of this group of the press have not yet been fully tapped.

The following has to be pointed out, however: certain periodicals published by the representatives of the national bourgeoisie have the tendency - in keeping with the class differentiation of society - to go over to anti-national or even pro-imperialist positions. This development is linked to the ambiguous nature of the ideology and policy of bourgeois nationalism in the countries of the "Third World".

2. The share of the revolutionary-democratic press in the overall volume of the national press in the developing countries is steadily increasing year after year. It expresses the interests of those social forces which are striving to achieve their country's development in a non-capitalist way and to intensify the social purpose of the national liberation struggle. From the class point of view the revolutionary-democratic press is not a working-class, let alone Communist press. It made its appearance in countries where the proletariat is still weak, where it is not the leading class, but where the national liberation struggle has begun to turn practically into a struggle against both feudal and capitalist exploitation. The revolutionary democracy is represented in these countries by the broad front of the middle strata of towns and villages, of the growing proletariat and of the anti-imperialist elements of the national bourgeoisie. The revolutionary-democratic press has a wide circulation in countries where the government is in the hands of revolutionary democrats, as, for instance, in Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Burma, Tanzania, Somalia, the Congo, and South Yemen. The progressive press, which resembles by its spirit and content the revolutionary-democratic press, is also published in several countries which are ruled by feudal overlords and by the big and middle bourgeoisi

3. The third group of the national press is formed by Communist publications or by publications which are

very close to Communists. These publications express the views of the working class and of its Marxist-Leninist parties. In the course of the national liberation revolution the Communists in a number of Asian and African countries acted as consistent fighters for national interests, despite the stock anti-Communist thesis spread assiduously by imperialist propaganda in the developing countries that the Communist press has allegedly no national character. The Communist press of the "Third World" enjoys a great tradition although the representation of the working class is relatively weak here. If we are to consider its role from an historical point of view we must give it great credit for disseminating anti-imperialist and progressive ideas, including those which have now been adopted by revolutionary democrats.

A study of the possibilities of cooperation between the Communist and the revolutionary-democratic press is highly important for scientific research into the contemporary national press in the developing countries. The success of the national press as a whole frequently depends on this cooperation - whether it will succeed or fail to become an active supporter of progressive forces in the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation and the socio-economic development of the countries of the "Third World". A telling example of similar successful cooperation is provided by Iraq,

where newspapers of the Communist Party and of the Ba'as Party work closely together.

4. The process of the monopolization of the press has begun in several countries of Asia and Africa where capitalism had taken deep roots. These countries now experience the same situation as countries in the West - a handful of magnates has concentrated in its hands the large circulation dailies and weeklies, and manipulates public opinion of the majority of the population. A similar process is now taking place in India, Turkey, the Lebanon and in a number of other countries. The interests of the local monopolistic bourgeoisie are not infrequently close to the interests of Western monopolists. This is the reason why such papers as the "Statesman" /India/, the "Indian Express" or the "Hindustan Times", the Turkish "Hiurriet" and the "Jeni Istanbul" or the Lebanese "Al-Haiat" and the "Daily Star" differ from the others by their pro--Western orientation and their active defence of the capitalist system. Such papers can hardly be listed as national publications.

5. A great threat to the development of a truly national press is the fact that certain big circulation papers are directly owned by monopolistic groups and express the interests of pro-imperialist forces. May it suffice to mention in this connection the existence in developing countries of branches of the Roy Thomson concern, of the Anglo-Rhodesia Lonrho corporation which

controls a number of important publications in East Africa, of papers run by the Aga Khan family, etc.

A genuine national press can hardly rival such multi-million monopolies. This is particularly true today when the management of mass media requires tremendous resources. The Thomsons and other press lords own great wealth and are therefore able to launch and support mass circulation papers. In those countries where this ascendancy of foreign monopolies has remained unchallenged the number of national publications has even dropped since the proclamation of independence. But in those countries where there has been growing awareness of the danger presented by the foreign and local monopolistic press, measures have been taken in the form of partial or complete nationalization of the press, as e.g. in Algeria, Iraq, Burma, the Congo and Tanzania. It should be emphasized that measures to liquidate the pro-imperialist press are taken particularly by those developing countries where more progressive and radical revolutionary-democratic parties and groups are in power. The expropriation of the bourgeois press is being accompanied by the nationalization of industry and big business, of services, by far-reaching agrarian reform, by cultural revolution, by measures to liquidate social inequality and by an active anti-imperialist foreign policy.

It sometimes happens that bourgeois pro-imperialist newspaper abstain from open hostile propaganda inside

the developing countries, that they even cloak themselves in national colours and court the favours of the national governments. This policy, however, is carried on only for a certain time. As soon as public debate is under way on important decisions concerning private ownership and capital these papers reveal their true face and launch fierce attacks against the government of the day. We were able to see this in recent years in a number of pro-imperialist newspapers in Uganda, Zambia, India, Sri Lanka and elsewhere.

Various national governments, however, in fear of being charged with attacking the so-called freedom of the press often delay energetic action against them, although they realize the danger posed by the bourgeois monopolistic press. They content themselves with warnings addressed to anti-national papers and with engaging in polemics against them. The result is usually increased popularity among a section of their readers whom they try to impress with their boldness in criticizing the government. In the end the government realizes the necessity to expropriate the newspapers but this becomes much more difficult than had it been done right at the beginning.

The Western conception of press freedom still has its supporters in developing countries although the tendency to depart from this bourgeois theory is becoming more marked as time goes on. Under conditions of ma-

terial superiority of the so-called big press owned by local and foreign monopolists press freedom, completely unrestricted for the bourgeoisie, serves the interests of the pro-imperialist forces and harms the national interests of the country. We therefore note in the "Third World" not only a considerable spread of the process of nationalization of the mass media but also the growth of the party and government press. This is, in our view, a progressive development - barring a few exceptions - which corresponds to the aims of national development of former colonial countries.

Another positive fact is that state institutions at various levels are providing subsidies for the press, radio and televisicn services. This is often the sole possibility of preventing neocolonialist elements from gaining access to the local press. What is at stake is not only the necessity to reduce foreign financial influence /by way of grants from private and corporate sources, charitable contributions, technical and professional assistance, etc. . We have in mind in the first place covert influences exerted on the news media, commercial advertising /which in less developed countries is usually of foreign origin/ and foreign sources of information. Control exercised by national governments and the flow of foreign news through national news agencies can considerably weaken this pernicious influence.

Apart from state control there is, however, yet another possibility. This is the way of handing over confiscated or seized journalistic institutions to the self-administrative sector - to associations of journalists and printing workers. Some progressive journalists in India have long advocated this method but have encountered stiff resistance and obstacles from the monopolized press as well as financial difficulties. An interesting experiment was carried out in Peru. The national government expropriated two large dailies belonging to the Rockefellers and to a local financial mogul. These newspapers, expressing the interests of their owners, were until then waging a furious campaign against the progressive socio-economic changes in their country. The mass protests by the majority of journalists who were supporting the government were met by dismissals and financial repression. Today both dailies belong to the association of printing workers, clerical staff and journalists of the publishing houses and support the cause of the national progressive forces in the country. We are aware of the role played by the "Mercurio" concern in Chile during the coup against the Allende Government and we can even go as far as claiming that it would have been capable of smashing the fascist coup if it had been backed at the critical time by the major news media of the type of the Peruvian "Expresso".

It must be said at once, however, that such a path is not a miracle course for all ills. Press associations based on the practical application of the "journalistic élite" theory /"Le Monde" and "Figaro" in France/ can instead serve the interests of anti-national classes and even harm the socio-economic achievements of the working people. The setting up of a self-administrative press sector in the developing countries may, under circumstances of a monopolized, often foreign-controlled press, be regarded as a first and genuine step in the struggle against ideological imperialism.

The problem of the function of the press is closely related to the question of the class character of the press and of its importance for an analytical study of the news media in the developing countries. The proper understanding of the social substance and role of the press is an essential condition for its growth and successes, for the transformation of the news media in the developing countries into a truly national progressive social force. Journalists from the socialist world cannot but be pleased to note that leading officers in the news media of numerous developing countries are applying Marxist-Leninist principles concerning the role of the press in the life of society.

Leading officials in a number of Asian and African countries directly quote the well-known Leninist teach-

ing on the fundamental functions of the press: "Newspapers are not only a collective propagator and a collective agitator but also a collective organizer." They emphasize that the basis of the work of the press and of other mass communication media must be the aims of national development - in the political, socio-economic and cultural fields. At the same time the notion of bourgeois press theoreticians is rejected that the main social purpose of the press is to offer information, entertainment, sensation and advertisements. The class character and function of the press are here in direct dependence. The more active the anti-imperialist course in the country, the more radical the socio-economic changes, the more categorical is the rejection of the Western viewpoint and the deeper is the acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the function of the press. It appears that the three basic functions of the press in socialist countries, in particular the function of agitator, propagandist and organizer, are being practically applied to a considerable degree also in those countries which have adopted a non-capitalist way of development. These functions are also characteristic for the Communist and revolutionary-democratic press of capitalistically oriented countries of the "Third World".

The limited framework of this treatise does not allow me to analyse in depth the forms which are typical

for each of the three given functions in the press of the developing countries. May I only point out here that in recent years the role of its organizing function has considerably increased. This is related to the successes of socio-economic development and to the improvement and activation of the control of social processes. Several newspapers in socialistically oriented countries are becoming, as V. I. Lenin said, "important organs in the economic education of the population". Their impact on the reader is increasing. The experiences of the press of the socialist community of nations in the economic, creative as well as ideological and educational spheres of social activity are more and more frequently being taken over.

Attention should in this connection be paid to the importance of the secondary functions of the press in the developing countries, such as the functions of education and cognition, which in practice are closely linked with the above mentioned primary functions. In this sense the press of the "Third World" has still untapped reserves and resources. The active use of the press and of the other mass communication media in the educational process remains an urgent necessity of today.

MASS MEDIA IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD: FOUR CONUNDRUMS

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To study mass media in the developing world is to encounter numerous problems admitting of no satisfactory solutions. In this paper, four such conundrums are analyzed, and without seeming presumptuous, some possible solutions are offered. The perplexing problems discussed here are:

1. Making mass media economically and culturally practicable for developing nations,

2. Having media better serve the interests of the masses, not just élites and white-collar groups,

3. Resolving the conflict between press freedom and development journalism, and

4. Designing mass media theory and research appropriate to the developing world.

I.

In most of the developing world, World War II provided an era when military and political colonialism was dying out, superseded by a more pervasive cultural colonialism. Societies not in a position to afford sophisticated electronic media found themselves more and more in the clutches of cultural colonizers such as the United States, United Kingdom and Japan. They depended on these powers to provide capital for investment in media; they also relied on them for most of their media contents. They dispatched their personnel to England, United States

and Japan to learn how to run English, American and Japanese media. The end result: these emerging nations now had their own national media systems. Or did they?

The obvious alternatives, of course, are local ownership, indigenous contents, locally trained personnel and use of native language and culture. Easier said than realized. In poor, emerging nations, usually the only agency capable and willing to provide these alternatives is the government. But, in newly developed nations, there is a fear in some circles that governments in post-independence periods tend to be authoritarian. So, the options now are: foreign owned and influenced media, at the risk of extinction of the native culture; government owned and controlled media, at the risk of loss of freedom of expression.

There is a third answer which is not too popular among developing nations in a hurry to have the latest and best: a nation should not be tempted by the paraphernalia of modernity until it is sure there are elements in the society capable of keeping them indigenous and free. For, once mass media development is initiated, it is difficult to halt; it builds a momentum of its own, which in the long run becomes too demanding for the poor nations of the world. For example, once television sets are purchased, the people demand more programming, which, because of the prohibitively high costs of domestic production, must be imported. And, then we are back where we began.

It is difficult, and seemingly hypocritical, to tell a developing people to slow down, not to expect all the accoutrements of modernity which we in older, larger countries possess. It is also not easy to tell them that traditional cultural and personality strains should be preserved and built upon. But, if some of the earlier mentioned dilemmas are to be avoided, smaller, poorer nations will have to seek more modest media operations than they are now contemplating. For example, island hopping through the Commonwealth Caribbean, one cannot help being impressed by some of the mass media setups that exist: a 10-KW radio station housed in new studios on tiny Dominica; colour and educational television on Barbados; satellite hookups on Jamaica and Barbados; newspaper computerization onBermuda; television stations on St. Kitts and Antigua, the latter with an audience of less than 8,000. In Asia, one is equally awed by situations such as in Malaysia where plans are moving ahead for colour television before black and white has been fully implemented. Why? For the prestige and because neighbouring rival Singapore will have colour television. Colour television will be the prerogative of only a choice few élites in these societies where the cost of a set is more than is necessary to build a sturdy plank house. But the main point is that in most of these instances, resources for these media

operations were obtained through loans or consortia linkages with foreign interests - usually the very colonial societies which they just fought for their freedom, or through government ownership and subsidy.

It is in order here to look at a few media enterprises in developing nations that have gone a more modest route and, in turn, have kept production costs within the limits of available capital resources. In the Caribbean, locally and privately owned St. Lucia Television Service has maintained its self-sufficiency because it has not set unattainable goals. A relay of Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation on Barbados, the station was designed to require a minimum of facilities, equipment and personnel. Studio headquarters are in an old, converted army wash-house and no professional equipment is used. Programming is kept within the range of the station's earnings; staff is borrowed from a rental firm which is the parent organization of St. Lucia Television Service. The station, by the way, is one of the few in the Commonwealth Caribbean that has consistently made a profit. On mini-island, Anguilla, a newspaper is produced by a carpenter and his family, using a donated mimeograph machine; on Dominica, the mimeographed "Star" is edited by a husband-wife team working out of their home and a friend's dining room.

We've heard so much about competition being the backbone of a responsible press; I believe in this tenet but I also think small emerging nations must be careful that

reliance upon the ledger book as the sole indication of a medium's success does not narrow the field down to one or two strong newspapers and a broadcasting network. There is a need for the other voices, specially small newspapers for the rural folk. Mrs. Ghandi made a plea for the latter at a One Asia Assembly in 1973; a 1968 UNESCO team warned that as the larger Commonwealth Caribbean newspapers became stronger, they stifled the smaller non-dailies, which the team felt were necessary in that region. Thus, rather than kill off the competition, more efforts on the part of media and government, if the latter is necessary, should be made toward cooperative ventures. Possibly trusts should be created in these nations from which smaller papers can lease equipment and supplies; the Indonesian government did this a few years ago, and according to Mochtar Lubis, although the papers were published at government plants, they remained independent enough to criticize the authorities. Another effort at stimulating small papers for rural people was that of the Liberia Information Service in the early 1960s. LIS placed mimeograph machines in at least 25 rural areas, gave local laymen basic instructions on setting up newspapers and then withdrew to allow the papers to operate solely under the auspices of the villagers. Finally, a negative example of undue competition among small newspapers in a developing country is provided. In 1955, when Davao City, Philippines, had nine weeklies but not a daily, an editor

suggested that production costs could be cut if all nine papers formed a cooperative, print from one plant and come out on a different day /under each paper's own nameplate/, thus providing the city with at least one paper every day. The proposal died because of petty jealousies among the publishers.

II.

Most of the developing world, after centuries of colonial rule, is anxious to divest itself of colonial institutions and traditions, the mass media included. Nationalist writers rightly explain that colonial newspapers in their nations were there solely to keep colonists in touch with themselves and with civilization, their civilization back in Europe or the United States. They complain, again justifiably so, that the media were designed for the élites of society, not the people. Governments of newly emergent nations have picked up the refrain and have promised to do something about all this. They have called for changes in media organization, control and personnel to meet the goals of a new society and to build a national consciousness under a new leadership. The result: newspapers changed hands; ministries of information were set up; new guidelines were instituted. But what has really changed? Not much as far as the masses are concerned, for, whereas in colonial societies, media were used by élite colonialists to keep

abreast of happenings in the mother country and of other colonialists, in the post-independence period, media were used by native élites and white-collar groups to communicate with other élites and white-collar groups. And as in colonial days, determining the majority and minority of a society had very little to do with statistics, so that media catering to urban élites have been treated as the majority press, all others as a minority. It is noticeable in numerous instances: in Bolivia, for example, where the Indians form a statistical majority of the population, their newspapers are termed the minority press; in India and Philippines, newspapers of the non-English speaking people are called vernacular and minority presses. Thus, the printed media especially have had very little identification with the masses - the statistical majority, often not even using their language. It is little wonder then that Indian newspapers, catering to big business urban élites, are referred to as the jute press or that Commonwealth Caribbean broadcasting is said to talk to banana plantation owners but not to the plantation workers.

All of this must be reversed. Already existing media must be restructured to speak the languages of the masses and to relate to their everyday needs and problems or new alternative media must be created. Government ministers must supplement their platitudes of being for the people with actions now. There is a start in this direction in

some quarters. Recognizing the gap between rural and urban peoples in his country, the foreign minister of Kenya recently called for the following:

From the press: A commital to recast the image they are portraying of the nation to give a proper share to the rural areas - remembering that 90 per cent of every nation in Africa is rural.

From the governments: Abolition of import duty on the equivalent amount of newsprint and ink used to serve the rural areas.

From the press: The allocation of regular space - say a whole page - presented in simple language, and possibly even in tribal vernaculars, specifically for rural readers.

From the governments: The provision of, or subsidy of, transport to carry the papers to the rural areas. /The "East African Standard" recently discovered it was costing them as much as 8 shillings a copy to serve rural readers./

From the press: Putting more reporters in the rural areas and doing much more to develop a network of good correspondents. /Tanzania has started doing this, "Taking reporters off the cocktail party circuit", they call it./

The editorial concept that "what the government says is news is news" must be abandoned in favour of more grassroots inquiry, more interviews, more letters to the editor, more

articles of dissent, more broadcasting phone in programs and more public access to the media generally. In the area of broadcasting, there are some examples from the developing world that should be emulated: The rural Filipino broadcaster who said his station provides community service by teaching agricultural methods, finding lost children and:

> If someone loses a carabao /water buffalo/, we try to locate it for him. If a farmer gets to town and cannot get home, we broadcast a message so informing his family. We even broadcast names of people who must report to court the following day,

Or, the station in the Bahamas that allows hospital patients on Saturday evenings to talk over the radio waves to friends and relatives in out-islands,

Or, the Windward Islands Broadcasting Service which regularly broadcasts banana cutting notices informing farmers on the quality, acceptance and loading time of bananas at various depot ships, thus allowing them to cut their fruit at the proper time.

In the print media, armchair journalists will have to abandon the habit of waiting for the official press release, get out of their offices and into the fields, factories and homes of the common man. They should imitate colleagues such as those on the "Kobe /Japan/ Shimbun", who, in an effort to study development problems and contribute to community welfare, have stayed

for varying periods in the homes of farmers and fishermen, eating the same food, talking the same language and worrying about the same problems. On smaller media, where manpower may not be expendable to this extent, resources should be pooled or better and wider use should be made of regional services available. For example, in Asia, newspapers can make better use of Depthnews, a regional feature service of the Press Foundation of Asia which is showing what can be done when intelligent reporters concern themselves with the social problems of development. Reporters should be sent into libraries to abstract and translate into layman language current academic exercises and these dealing with development and nation building, such as the Philippine Press Institute did in the 1960s. Newspaper managements should think about setting up information centres for the community as well as cultural centres, in the tradition of the larger Japanese dailies. For example, "Kobe Shimbun" provides the public six telephone services: hints for conversation, forecasts of daily living, department store news, memo for housewives, leisure information and help wanted information.

An ironical characteristic of mass media in developing countries is that as the production and distribution technology have been modernized, the format and contents of the product have not been. High speed, full colour offset presses are printing newspapers full of dull, dated

and often unintelligible information; ultra modern broadcasting stations are turning out news shows that one could have done just as well with pencil and pad. Contents do not reflect the aspirations or problems of a growing society - problems of the metropolis, pollution, growth for growth sake, consumerism or education. Presentations are in the traditional hackneyed fashion; for example, if education is to be promoted, pictures and story of a minister opening a school building are displayed, rather than serious, in-depth analysis of equalization of learning, life-long learning, learning as innovator, diversified higher learning or learning for a good life; if development is the story, one can expect to read or hear the words of a minister extolling the virtues of economic progress, never anything about the hazards of rapid, unplanned modernization, e.g., pollution of air, sound, water and land.

Besides reporting a wider gamut of the development story for the masses, the media must make sure they are writing it in the people's language and in the simplest, clearest way. Fortunately, efforts are being made in the emerging nations to make wider use of native languages in the mass media, to the extent that a Caribbean station or two implemented Creole and patois broadcasts in the early 1970s. One of the most interesting experiments along these lines was that of the "Sun" in the Philippines, which, in an effort to teach Filipinos literacy in both

English and Tagalog, mixed the languages in sentences; thus, a sentence might start out in English and end in Tagalog. As for writing in the meaning framework of the masses, probably all of us are familiar with stories of seemingly clear messages having been misconstrued: the Mexican family planning poster with the message "Every Baby Is a Treasure", to which many Mexican peasants responded, "So, let's have more treasures"; or the Malaysian government save-your-money poster showing a man on a tightrope with the words, "Keeping Your Balance", which the people thought was the announcement of a forthcoming circus. Nevertheless, the point must be underlined that to communicate with the people, journalists must know the people and their language frames of reference.

So far, the discussion has emphasized formal media geared to the masses. We must not make the mistake so much of the modern world makes, and this is, thinking traditional and transitional peoples do not have communication networks just because they do not conform to modernistic information systems. In colonial times and now, peasants have had very effective means of communications in their talking drums, music, folktales, symbols, gossip and rumour. The story is told of a woman in Bangkok who in five days persuaded 10,000 people born under the sign of Aries to pay 50 baht each to her and celebrate a feast to a certain god. She did this without the use of any formal medium. With such results, communications plan-

ners in developing nations would be wise to employ informal, oral information patterns, rather than discard them for more modern media. Again, there has been some progress along these lines; for example, family planning and other developmental messages have been implanted in Wayang kulit and boria skits in Indonesia and Malaysia, respectively.

III.

Territories of the Third World are now in the process of redefining the concept of press freedom that they inherited from colonists. Because of the transitional nature of these societies, government leaders rationalize such modifications of these press freedom concepts and maintain that they are in order. They claim that in emerging nations, unusual powers are sometimes necessary to force decisions that will benefit the people. They ask that the mass media show restraint in criticizing government, and at the same time, promote national goals and identities. The press is implored to accept a deliberately guided press concept until the nation is stabilized, after which time the powers--that-be will lessen press restrictions. The questions asked by some critics of this notion are: How long will it take for stabilization? Who will decide when the time arrives? If full development is reached, and assuming the

press is granted greater freedom, will it be able to rise to the occasion? The answers to these questions are not forthcoming and the result in most developing nations is a forced cooperation of the media with government. The split in ideologies was apparent at a 1974 Asian Regional Mass Media Conference in Kuala Lumpur which included delegates from eight nations: pressmen clung to Western concepts of freedom of expression, while government officials believed in something else, namely, "that the Press should note the special conditions /immature democracy/ in which they were working." A typical response of a government information minister at the conference was:

> In clipping the wings of the Press, we have put the interests of the nation as paramount. Democracy is a moving thing. It can be amended to guarantee order and tranquility. Also, there is a lack of skilled personnel. So not only one side must come up with the information, the other side must do some digging as well.

An independent status for the mass media in the developing world is becoming increasingly difficult; pressmen recognize this and are tightening their self-restrictions. They recognize that the governments are stronger than the press in most developing nations. They watch as governmental agencies purchase, create or confiscate numerous media enterprises of their own, including national

broadcasting networks, press agencies, departments of information, newspapers and magazines. In many instances, they dare not offend officials who control advertising or newsprint allocations upon which they are dependent. Additionally, it is difficult, without seeming traitorous, to respond to governments' defences of their actions in the name of national security and unity. In turn, presses in some developing nations have become mere extensions of the government information service, couching this fact by calling themselves developmental newspapers and journalists. In Malaysia and the Philippines, for example, they have been so uncritical of government as to be embarrassing. Authorities in these nations have been known to call for the press to be more critical and analytical of governmental policy, but to no avail; with the many legislative restrictions and subtle guidelines over their heads, pressmen are not about to take the officials at their word.

Although developmental journalism and deliberately guided press are terms often used interchangeably in the Third World, it would seem they are contradictory. If developmental journalism, as Quebral claimed, pushes for awareness /not just a non-purposive chronicling of facts/ and offers alternatives, then it would follow that developmental journalists could better do their jobs if not threatened by restrictions when they come up with alternatives other than those of the government. If developmental journalism means promoting governmental policies

uncritically, to the exclusion of other suggestions, then call it what it is - authoritarianism - ; in that case, governments involved would be prudent to amend their constitutions to delete freedom of expression and end the hassle altogether. For to do otherwise is to practise a two-faced type of democracy that keeps journalists guessing as to their role and freedom. Perhaps, Evans said it best:

> The arguments are very seductive that what such a society needs is calm progress and that this can best be achieved if the faith of the people is maintained in their government and society. At its extreme this doctrine equates an embarrassing truth about government failure with an attack on national security. This doctrine must be resisted... Where there is no criticism, the quietness is that of stagnation. Secondly, if there cannot be change by free discussion - with all its embarrassments - there will be change by violence.

As mass communication education and research takes hold in the developing world, it becomes ever apparent that they are closely tied to the theory and methodology developed in the United States and Europe. This is understandable, and possibly unavoidable for the time being, because the discipline of mass communication study evolved in these areas and most Third World media researchers ob-

tained their training there.

But, what is difficult to fathom is why mass media developers in the Third World latch onto certain Western communications theories relating to their own cultures and hold them sacrosanct. For example, Lerner's models on mass media and development are quoted throughout the developing world without much hitherto thought given to their applicability: Western-originated methods are as freely dispensed: thus, one finds Colombian illiterate peasants Q-sorting, Asians unaccustomed to answering questions by mail receiving long questionnaires - in English, no less.

Even more puzzling, perhaps, is the great reliance Third World communication researchers place on indices, especially those of UNESCO. Are these people asking how meaningful the arbitrary figure of one newspaper per ten people is in a basically oral communication network? Should not one take into consideration the group reading or sharing of papers that exist in these cultures? Again, what significance lies behind UNESCO figures for numbers of radio sets per population, when in numerous Asian barrios, kampongs and villages, a radio owner shares his set with his entire community by merely increasing the volume? How relevant a statistic is the literacy rate if in multi-lingual cultures one does not distinguish which language an individual is

literate in? Should they not ask how meaningful literacy really is in basically oral societies? Judging from the bombardment of messages Westerners face in a given day, cannot illiteracy be a bonus in a verbal society? Why do Third World researchers and scholars quote freedom of expression indices, including those for their own nation, drawn up by an American sitting at his desk in Missouri, who could never envision the myriad cultural implications of that phrase in those nations? As one writer noted, possibly the only accomplishment of such statistics is the nurturing of stereotyped, colonial ideas that education is the number of pupils in schools, not a system of cultural transmission, that mass communication is the number of radios with no concern for their use or content.

Szecsko cautions that before planning any system of information, a basic knowledge of the social reality is required, and this cannot be obtained by what he calls "safari research", which gives only a superficial account. Yet, developing nations, with the support of supranational agencies, are continually parachuting Western communication scholars in for a week or month research safari. Is this not a form of colonialism in research? Do these governments not have faith in their own scholars' capabilities? At least one Malaysian information officer thinks not. He related the story of a policy paper he wrote on development communication which went completely

unnoticed until he obtained a noted Western scholar as his co-author.

In our striving to make broad generalizations about mass media in the developing world /such as we are doing here/, too often not enough is learned about individual systems in specific countries. To me, that is the starting place. Once there, we might attempt to answer for each nation the questions other scholars have asked. For example, Merrill seeks an answer to the most fundamental, and given the variables, most difficult, question: Do mass media bring about national development? Golding would like to know more about the role of international news organizations and the relationships between traditional communication patterns and the new media. Still others wonder who makes communication policy decisions in each nation and for whose benefit. I personally am curious about media contents - their origins, quantity and effect.

With the augmented development of journalism training centres throughout the Third World /at least 136 in 16 Asian nations alone/ and the research produced in them /at least 617 communication research studies completed since 1965 in Asian centres/, some of these answers may be on the horizon. Let's hope they are produced in a practical and readable manner and that national governments do not lock them up as secret documents.

TASKS AND PROBLEMS OF MASS MEDIA IN THE POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE COUNTRIES OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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Basic Functions of National Democratic Media of Mass Communications

In outlining the principal functions which the mass media are expected to fulfil in the process of non-capitalist development African politicians are turning more and more frequently to the principles of Marxist dialectics. They acknowledge both the existing mutual relations between the present features of the superstructure as well as the mutual relations between the features of the superstructure and the base, in particular the active reverse influence of human consciousness on material conditions. They mark out the conscious activity of the masses as the decisive factor of the national democratic revolution, i.e. of that social process which is today taking place in such countries as Guinea, Tanzania, the Congo and Somalia: "At the present turning point of our economic and

industrial development all available means must be used to inform and educate, to mould the political consciousness of the masses in order to mobilize them for projects planned by the government... Without the support of the masses our plans would fail. The people must realize their role in the process of national construction." Evening News, Accra.

Turning the popular masses into the decisive factor of the political and economic struggle is to show them their objective interests. This means to create generally such an attitude to work, to the emerging nation and to development plans, which would make the socialist order being understood as the highest stage of social development for which one must strive and which is only possible on the basis of a highly developed economy and culture.

This must find its expression in the responsibility of the entire nation for economic and political development, for the mobilization of intellectual and physical forces not only for the needs of yesterday but for the requirements of a modern, socialist, agrarian-industrial nation. This is how Ghanaian ideologists formulated as early as 1965 the task of the mass media, which must "reach all classes and sections of the population, workers, farmers, trade unionists, peasants, students, young and old alike," and activate them.

In doing so the press /and analogously the radio and television/ is to fulfil to the best of its knowledge and belief the functions of: 1. collective mobilizer, 2. col-

lective educator and 3. collective organizer. All of these three functions are to lead up to the main mission of every revolutionary organ in Africa and become a weapon for overthrowing colonialism and imperialism and for forging the unity of the continent.

Every analysis of these tasks must necessarily lead to the question whether the national democratic press of African countries with a non-capitalist development can already today completely fulfil such functions. Obviously not. To be capable of doing so requires the basis of a vanguard party based on the working class; collective activity also requires a sociological differentiation of the press within the framework of which individual organs can mutually agree on their tasks taking into account their diverse readership. These factors do not yet exist and the implementation of the stipulated functions must therefore be postponed to a later date.

In cannot be denied, however, that various possibilities of promoting the process of the development of the press exist in all African countries. Let us consider the mobilization of the masses as demanded by a number of African politicians.

All revolutionary democratic leaders must in their strategy of revitalizing the economy take into account the fact that numerous intellectual barriers, put up by traditional society and colonial rule, threaten to strangle

any outside initiative if it is not properly channelled and safeguarded by suitable methods.

There are the traditional statics of the rural community, illiteracy, outmoded ways of working, an aversion for novelty, excessive emphasis on personal interests, a low degree of education and a hitherto little developed sense of responsibility as far as the needs of the emerging nation are concerned.

As far as human resources go all the projects planned in development programmes can generally rely only on a very narrow base. African politicians are therefore quite right in pointing to the necessity to make use of the press in stimulating the social and psychological preparedness of the population while taking into account several major aspects.

The first, and in their view the politically most important, is the vivid and comprehensive explanation of economic perspectives. The masses must accept the economic goals with full awareness and enthusiasm. No empty declarations of high sounding visions which appear to be unattainable and lead to loss of courage but the presentation of concrete projects for the construction of individual branches of industry and agriculture, and even of individual factories. The worker and peasant must know how the project had been worked out, which aspects had been and still are decisive for planning the economy and

what impact the implementation of the projects will have on their own lives.

It is furthermore essential to emphasize the economic centres of gravity in individual stages of development, and to lay down the rate of construction for specific areas of the economy. This kind of economic reporting will create credibility in the economic policies of the government. For, as Frantz Fanon - who has followed for many years developments in Algeria - wrote: "Experience teaches that in a developing country the issue is not whether planning and decision making concerns some 300 people but whether the whole community understands and takes part in decision making even if this process takes twice or three times as long. In reality this time "loss" caused by explanation and humanization of work is made up in the course of the implementation of the project. People must know where they are going and why they are going there. The politically conscious man must realize that the future will remain foreclosed as long as the awareness of the people remains rudimentary, fragmentary and hazy."

The masses must arrive at three major conclusions in the course of the explanation of the programme and of the discussions: that, in the first place, they can develop their countries better and more rapidly if they are freed of any form of imperialist domination; secondly, that outside aid may be essential but that the main factor of suc-

cess is the responsibility of the whole nation for economic progress; and, thirdly, that the building of a new and better society also requires sacrifices.

In order to make the basic importance of the material production process for the solution of national as well as social problems clear the press ought to be used in the widest sense already in schools as an aid in instruction and mediation of knowledge /particularly as schools are also charged with adult education/. Editors should be asked to publish special contributions to promote technical know-how, i.e. to explain production processes, the mechanism of machinery and equipment. Together with individual job training at the bench this would substantially speed up the acquisition of skill by the workers.

African theoreticians are right in regarding the chief task of journalistic work in the economic sphere in its contribution to raising labour productivity. The new society must differ from the old one particularly in higher per capita labour productivity. How can the press stimulate it? The following aspects are being proposed: a better organization of work by exposing shortcomings in labour discipline, pointers to uneconomic operations in the production process, publicizing "positive examples", promoting a movement of activists and work emulation, the formation of brigades and production committees as well as the holding of regular production conferences.

"Why should not our newspapers serve a better purpose and publish pictures of our workers with an outstanding work record in order to stimulate others in their own performance?... We must learn to organize effective emulation. Our task is to get this kind of drive going, and once we gather enough experience to extend it to the whole country." From "Report on Doctrine and Orientation"

The intention to turn the press /radio and TV/ into a "genuine organ of economic education of the popular masses" in the Leninist conception has unlimited scope in the developing countries. For example, public praise for work performances under the slogan "How can every man and every woman personally contribute to our economic independence?" can arouse fresh initiative in popularizing new work methods and in organizing emulation between state-owned enterprises and within the cooperative sector, and improve the climate for national development.

It is certainly no mistake if journalistic methods of the press in socialist countries, which proved to be highly successful under no less difficult conditions, are being taken over. At all events, however, care must be taken not to transplant these methods mechanically to the conditions of national states but to give them creative consideration; moreover, in their application an organized backbone should be available in the shape of trade unions as well as a generation of progressive and enlightened people ready to work under new organizational forms.

As far as contents are concerned one of the primary duties is the precise explanation of new terms. Emulation between state enterprises in English-speaking countries, for example, must not be confused with the capitalist term for ruthless competition, but the entirely new socialist quality of peaceful competition and emulation must be demonstrated.

The popularization of new forms and methods of work is only one aspect of publicist activity. The second no less significant function of the national revolutionary press lies in control and investigation. Newspapers must assist in exposing anarchy, sloppiness, thefts, irregularities and speculation in the state and cooperative sectors. They must provide aid to those officials of state enterprises who are still unfamiliar with non-capitalist forms and methods of management and organization. In this respect they can unreservedly take up Lenin's instructions to the young Soviet press: "The press must be our first and most important instrument in raising the self-discipline of the working people and in overcoming outdated and completely unsuitable methods of work stemming from the era of the capitalist society, in struggling against shirkers; it must expose shortcomings in the economic life of every work unit, it must pitilessly expose all ulcerous tumours in our life and thus urge public opinion of our working people to liquidate these ulcerous tumours."

African politicians and ideologists also ascribe to the press a key strategic position in the village. Despite the large proportion of illiterates the press is expected to make the countryside familiar with practical knowledge of modern working and organizational methods in order to improve agricultural output. Food production must be stepped up and the supplying of the rapidly growing urban population must be ensured. The task of the press is further to stimulate the delivery of supplies of raw materials for the industry of its own country and to encourage peasants to cultivate such produce which in a raw or processed state would find ready access to export markets and help increase foreign currency earnings.

Each of these postulates is countered by traditional ways of thinking and acting, which hardly contain any elements of scientific and technical experiences or any inclination towards experimentation, by a low level of demands, claims and consumption. These remnants in the minds of people can best be surmounted by working in agricultural producers' cooperatives. In the course of the democratic transformation of the village, i.e. by associating peasants and farmers in cooperatives, the rural population must be reinvigorated and developed into an important social force. The press must focus its attention to this end and respond in its agitation and propaganda effort to the following question of the rural population: Why is the cooperative

system in the village the starting point for a wide-ranging social, economic and cultural evolution in the village? Why is it precisely the cooperative which can most efficiently and most viably make use of modern farm technology? To what extent does the socialist cooperative idea, in contrast to the capitalist one, create genuine centres of common endeavour under improved working methods, of effective measures against crop and livestock diseases, of hygiene and better housing, in short the conditions for a general raising of living standards?

A real drive to convince people must be organized in the course of establishing cooperative farms, as this social transformation represents a profound intervention in the existing mode of life even if a growing number of peasants and farmers is already used to certain forms of cooperative work. An important lever for mobilizing the rural population is the awakening of its sense of self-help. This practice in Tanzania, and the similar "investissement humaine" as practised in Guinea, should be given much space in newspapers in order to root out the still widely held view that the individual peasant cannot change anything. Politically, such self-help is essential if only for the reason that governments have long been unable to provide aid to the village on a required scale. Psychologically, this will undoubtedly induce in the rural population - and if extended to towns amongst townwellers as well -

pride in the achievements of the national construction effort. The firm anchoring of the self-help movement in the mind of society can lead to a new attitude to work and to successes in the non-capitalist way of development. Finally, it encourages - as proved by similar forms of voluntary work in socialist countries - a sense of belonging to the community which aims for a common goal of happiness.

The tasks of the national revolutionary press - although outlined only in part - pose the question whether the products of the press /radio and TV broadcasts/ are capable solely through their dissemination, however widespread it may be, continuity and persuasiveness of rapidly changing from scratch and almost automatically habits, traditions and attitudes, i.e. the way of life and work. Certainly not! Even if an ideal case were somehow produced involving constant political and ideological influence neither the press nor any other medium could replace state and social institutions. According to every experience the press can be an aid in economic construction efforts and an instrument of political leadership but only on condition that the editors closely cooperate with the authorities, the leading party or parties and with social mass organizations.

Promoting the Political, Ideological, Moral and Cultural Transformation Process

Embarking on a path of non-capitalist development requires from the society of the respective national state to find new mutual relationships. Where until the present the village commune or - in a tiny proportion of the population - the township constituted the universe it is from now on for every citizen to feel that he belongs to the nation in which everyone shoulders responsibility for the whole community. In practice, this means no less than to smother tribal identity, to promote equal diverse cultures and attract them to each other, and to gradually alter clan relations into modern interhuman relationships. The central problem for the revolutionary democratic leadership is to make the social objective laws of historical development and the resulting demands comprehensible. The masses must be made to understand that capitalism is not capable of solving existing social problems, although it indisputably achieved remarkable successes in certain technical fields. They must come to realize that the desired new social order can be achieved only in relentless class struggle against reactionary internal and external forces. Finally, as concrete an image of the new society as possible must be projected in order to free people from the spell of the old order and encourage them to build a

new one in which the created material and intellectual values become social property, and in which the principle is applied: each according to his abilities, each according to his performance.

Politicians and ideologists of the national democratic revolution see in growing measure the solution of this problem in the thorough re-education of all classes and sections of the nation.

It is generally recognized that this is not a temporary task or a tactical element but an objective necessity throughout the whole revolutionary process. This task must be taken up in particular by the press: "The basis of our press, in common with any other press, is information. It must provide entertainment as well. It must also educate. But more than any other the African press must seriously take up its educational function." From "The African Journalist" It ought to pursue three paths according to available possibilities:

- it must develop and carry on polemics as a substantial element of journalistic work;

- it must plead for criticism and self-criticism as the ferment of society and apply it especially in the education of leading political forces in the state apparatus, the parties and political organizations;

- it must analyze all important aspects of social life in order to furnish the leadership of the state and of the state-supporting party with basic facts.

The press must polemically deal with all those ideas and conceptions which are aimed against the principles of the newly shaped order. Their roots must be exposed and crushed, while at the same time the ideas of scientific Socialism must be advocated.

Among the first group of such retarding ideas or states of awareness are - as far as the spiritual structure of present-day African society can at all be detailed - those which have their origin in the patriarchal-gentile system. They are spread chiefly amongst the peasant masses but also in some sections of the working class and of the petit bourgeoisie and often clash sharply with modern conceptions. They include specifically: placing the tribe above the nation; clinging to the pre-colonial community; the subordination of women to male domination; keeping the privileges of the tribal chieftain despite the measures of the state to divest him of his powers; an inclination towards idleness, apathy, mental and moral mysticism.

In view of these relics of the past the task of the press is to explain why the clan, in particular, is the source and homestead of conservatism, why polygamy discriminates the woman and why it must be eliminated. Inadequate state consciousness requires the press to explain the obligations and rights of the citizen and of his government, and the rationale and purpose of certain political measures. Isolated tribes must be instilled

with the feeling of belonging to the nation, with the awareness of a common history and identity of the people and of the nation.

The unceasing political and ideological struggle against the patriarchal-gentile survivals in the minds of people must be regarded as a vital issue of the national democratic revolution. If it is not waged consistently and systematically one cannot count with any firm ties of the peasantry to the revolutionary leadership and, moreover, there is the danger that the reactionary classes and sections of the population will attempt to seek in traditions the confirmation of their existence and privileges.

A second category of these survivals in the minds of people has its origin in the colonial era. It was partially supported by the colonial powers and partially represented a defensive reaction of the suppressed population. First among these is Christian religion which African politicians regard in its conception of the world as outdated and as rightly derived from the exploitation interests of the Europeans. But no general condemnation of religion is being uttered. Its present political significance in Africa is being realistically assessed and complete religious freedom is being proclaimed as one of the democratic rights of the nation. The press is, however, being asked at the same time to present all processes and symptoms in their material ramifications instead of ascribing them to super-

natural powers. People will learn how to master even the laws of nature after becoming aware of their own creative strength. All attempts ought to be foiled to misuse religion politically, as the enemies of the nation constantly incite religious feelings in order to influence the fate of the country.

The press must further energetically oppose the assertions spread from the former metropolitan countries that capitalism - in the shape of colonialism - had brought the African schools, roads and mines, and that they had to be grateful for this. Especially the young generation must be told that where such facilities had been put up they did not stem from any altruism or philanthropy by the colonialists but used to serve for the most part the purpose of forced exploitation. The inhumanity of the capitalist system must be exposed everywhere and contrasted with the advantages of the future socialist order. This can shatter not only any illusions but that attitude of passive resistance, into which numerous Africans had been pushed in colonial times, and in which they grabbed at substitute freedoms wherever they could. The working people must realize the simple truth that disciplined productive work is the source of all riches. And further the fact that state ownership /factories, machinery, raw materials/ is something of a quite different nature than the means of production owned by foreign monopolies, and requires there-

fore a quite different approach. It is also important to point out that workers and employees now belong to a new type of a larger family which is no longer guided by clan or tribal interests but by the common interests of the working class.

The last large group of negative survivals in the minds of people includes current neo-colonialist strains of thought, individualism, vacillation in critical political and economic situations, an inclination to corruption and nepotism, political indifference as well as nebulous conceptions about "African socialism". With regard to the various conceptions of "African socialism" S. Ikoku states, for instance: "The first necessity is to convince the masses of the people of the rightness of the chosen order. This means a systematic spreading of such ideas in such a way that the population will recognize in Socialism the genuinely superior social system. Concurrently ideas inimical to Socialism, i.e. all pseudo-scientific interpretations which confuse the population about the true meaning of Socialism, must be constantly exploded."

The confrontation of individual elements of scientific Socialism with components of pseudo-scientific programmes is eminently suitable to bring greater clarity into the new social order which is about to be built. Also in this case care must be taken that the social

question is not for a moment left out of consideration on the premise of the existence of classes and of the objective laws of the class struggle; its relationship to international monopolistic capital must never be in any doubt.

Concerning the political vacillation and symptoms of inconstancy among the population "The African Journalist" points out two related aspects:

- fear of the future among certain sections of the population, particularly among members of the urban petit bourgeoisie, who are afraid that the national democratic revolution is directed against their own property and thus against their very existence;

- general uncertainty wherever traditional patterns of thought and behaviour are falling apart without the new ways being firmly anchored yet.

With regard to the concrete application to the urban petit bourgeoisie the following observation should be made: it has to be systematically convinced by solid arguments that both trade and the crafts face sound prospects in a future socialist social order. Even if state commerce will prevail cooperatives will become the decisive production form in the crafts, and society will not be able to do without them. No-one must, of course, be left in any doubt at all that the essentially petit bourgeois individualistic striving for personal enrichment and advance-

ment must give way to a new moral attitude already in the stage of the national democratic revolution.

The press must critically deal with all individuals and groups of people who in view of their position in public life ought to give up particularly quickly the traditionalistic ways of thought and behaviour. This applies especially to the higher intelligentsia trained in the colonialist era. The national democratic state needs officials who are fully aware of their duties and tasks. As the experiences of socialist countries show the faith of the masses in revolutionary power depends on the strict implementation of instructions issued by leaders of the party and government, on the personal commitment to the struggle against the colonial heritage, on the prevention of subversive acts from without and within, and last but not least, on the support of the state and cooperative sectors. What has been said about state officials also applies to political mass organizations. The brunt of criticism must be levelled against those cadres who for opportunist or careerist reasons decline to fully engage themselves in the implementation of entrusted tasks.

In view of the pseudo-cultural invasion, to which African countries are now subjected by American, British and French radio and television productions, national revolutionary parties and governments orientate the mass media even more strongly to national cultural values.

The intention is to analyse and depict the cultural life of the country, the history of ancient Africa, its folklore and the arts.

The handbook of "The African Journalist" demands for instance: "Tell them of family structures, the religions and ruling systems in these extinct empires. Tell them of the slave trade which took the toll of more than 100 million African victims, of humiliation, famine and the dire consequence of the slave trade for the economy... Tell them of slave revolts and publish reports on the heroic struggle for national independence."

But a journalistic eye cannot be cast in retrospect only. Journalists are expected to promote the chief national languages in order to ensure the integration of the country, in order to create afresn cultural identities and preserve national individuality, in order to wage war against the still prevailing illiteracy, i.e. to produce newspapers for illiterates and for people who have only just learned to read, in order to help in organizing cultural festivals on a regional and national scale, in order to support African literature and the theatre.

The functions described above offer a wide range of urgent tasks for national democratic mass media in countries with a non-capitalist path of progress. To master them involves the transformation of the élitist

nature of modern news media which we still encounter into genuine instruments of leadership and binding engagement with the popular masses. Practice has shown that many fertile nuclei already exist in this respect.

COMMUNICATION RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA: THE BLINDFOLDED INQUIRY?

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Introduction

Communication research entered a period of significant and sustained activity in Latin America about fifteen years ago. Although exact figures for the period are not available, estimates suggest that approximately 1,000 studies, and perhaps many more, have been carried out; this figure excludes undisclosed advertising and public opinion research.

What subject areas did that research cover? Under which theoretical orientations was it conducted? What methods were chiefly employed? What about the scientific quality of the studies? Which disciplines and what kinds of research institutions were mainly involved in the effort? Where did most of the financing come from? Where are the research reports located? And, finally, what seems to have been the contribution of the inquiry to the development of the Latin American nations?

Comprehensive and reliable answers to questions such as these cannot yet be fully provided. Meanwhile, it is possible to discern some initial indicators.

The Research Areas

1. History of journalism with special attention to the evolution of daily newspapers.
2. Communication legislation chiefly about print media and with some emphasis on freedom of the press.
3. Print and electronic mass media structure and functions studied primarily in terms of
   a/ message form,
   b/ media availability,
   c/ message consumption and
   d/ nature of message content and secondarily in terms of
   aa/ people's access to messages,
   bb/ content effects,
   cc/ code nature and consequences,
   dd/ readership, readability and reading habits, and
   ee/ media ownership and financing.
4. Content of picture-story fiction magazines, comic books and school texts as well as of radio and cinema soap-operas.
5. Television programming content and effects.
6. News flow and extra-regional influences on the region s mass communication system.
7. Experiences with special formats of education through radio.
8. Experiences with instructional television.

9. Experiences with audio-visual education in group communication situations.
10. Diffusion of agricultural innovations and other aspects of rural communication.

To stay within the time space limits set for the conference, what follows are a few brief examples for some of the categories.

The Distribution of Mass Media Messages

The first investigation of mass media availability for Latin America as a whole was carried out by UNESCO. It compared the region's figures with minimum standards desirable for each 100 inhabitants in the less developed countries of the world. In some cases Latin America was found to be clearly above the minimum standards and in others only slightly below them. A decade later, Kaplun up-dated this information, finding that the region had remained somewhat below the minimum in newspaper copies and decreased its figure for cinema seats, but had experienced significant growth in radio receivers and spectacular advancement in television receivers.

Later research, however, went beyond simple averages of potential media availability to an undiscriminated population. It found, in general, that access and exposure of people to mass media message closely follows the patterns of sharp social, economic and cultural stratification that

characterizes Latin America's society. In general, an acute concentration of mass media availability in the cities was identified, whereas the majority of the rural pupolation was found to be almost totally outside of the reach of those media. Within the urban domain alone a stratification was also detected. A similar, though more critical situation was found to be the case within the rural domain itself.

Non-Developmental Mass Media Content

The content of mass media messages is a dominant preoccupation among Latin American researchers, specially in relation to national development.

The first regional study that included some dimensions of content analysis of daily newspapers were carried by the International Center of Higher Learning in Journalism for Latin America /CIESPAL/. Its researchers analyzed over 400 issues of 29 major dailies of this region in comparison with four dailies of developed regions of the world. Their findings were basically the following:

1. In comparison with the non-Latin American dailies, those of Latin America allocated much less space to developmental information, considerably more to sports and amenities, and a little more space to socially negative information.

2. Whereas for the non-Latin American dailies economic and financial matters constituted the main content sub-

-category, for those of Latin America sports and entertainment occupied this principal position.

3. On the average, for the Latin American dailies, twice as much foreign news space was allocated to news of Europe and the United States than to that of the region itself.

Since 1968, numerous replications of this kind of study have been conducted in several countries of the region. Consistently, they have confirmed - with only minor differences - the results of the regional study, particularly in reference to print media content as related to national development goals and efforts.

Although far less numerous than in the case of press, those studies available on radio and television content suggest that both these media, but particularly television, pay considerably less attention to developmental information; they seem to play up trivial materials to a much greater extent than it occurs in the print media.

Studies specifically concerned with mass communication as related to rural development have found that even those messages specially addressed to farmers are oriented - in content and in form - exclusively to a minority, the city-based large landowners. A few studies have also demonstrated that agricultural information provided by private media and by government agencies has little if any relationship to the national rural development plans.

Alienation, Conformity and Consumerism

Mass media content has also recently been under scrutiny from another viewpoint: that of its possible effects in terms of a/ instilling in the population values alien to the national cultures,

b/ stimulating irrational buying behaviour, and

c/ inducing evasion of reality and an uncritical conformity with the status quo.

Thus, the ideologies behind mass media operation are being submitted to systematic observation and critical analysis.

A comprehensive study for one country within this new area of inquiry is that of Armand Mattelart et al in Chile, published in 1970. They first described and analyzed the "power structure of information" in terms of mass media availability and exposure as well as those of media ownership as related to concentration of economic power. Their next step was to demonstrate material and ideological dependence of the country's mass media institutions upon foreign /that is, extra-regional/ capital inputs and doctrinary models. In this process the researchers began to detect specific instances of alien value instillation, promotion of consumerism conformity induction, and propagation of conservative socio-cultural myths.

Analysis in Latin America has not stopped at written messages but has gone into graphic or non-verbal ones as

well. Thus, newspapers, general magazines, picture-story romance magazines /"fotonovelas"/, cartoon stories and comic strips, fairy tales, and even grammar school textbooks have been, for approximately the last five years, under some critical inspection. Researchers in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru appear to be the most active within this new approach.

There are at least a dozen studies on "comic books", the terms embracing serial graphic adventures /"historietas"/ and numerous strips /"chistes" or "tiras comicas"/ both in dailies and in general or specialized magazines. The values overtly or covertly expounded through these forms of communication have usually been identified as contrary to the region's culture and to its efforts to attain social change.

What about non-print media?

Very few studies have concerned themselves so far with the ideology of audiovisual media messages. Motion picture content appears to have been much more neglected than that of television. In fact, probably only Cuban and Chilean researchers have been at all active in tracing the ideology of films, especially those produced in Latin America.

Some Venezuelan and Brazilian researchers, followed at a considerable distance by those of Chile, Argentina, Peru and Ecuador, seem to have concentrated their efforts

on studying the ideological implications of television programs.

A 1962 study of social values in Venezuela's education already warned that commercials and canned and live T.V. materials were communicating values contrary to those proposed by the country's educational policy. A few years later, the claim was further documented by a pioneer researcher in this era who, subsequently, produced an analysis of a day of television programming in Caracas; the study showed that "soap-operas" occupied almost a third of the day's time of the four stations in town. This study was followed by a typology of themes and topics in television and radio "soap-operas" obtaining indications of a strong conservative bias and the fostering of an evasion of social reality. The first analysis of stereotype formation in children through television was made by a content-analysis of 50 programs and almost 150 commercials showing induction of élitist orientations and racism, along with violence. The most thorough search for the effects of television and radio "soap-operas" was carried out by a group of researchers who surveyed 27 program units, with an average of 34 chapters each, and involved large samples of the audience, mostly women and children of different socio-economic and cultural strata. The results, in essence, showed that these programs have definite effects on much of the audience in terms of inducing a distortion

of social reality, the impact on these attitudes being stronger in reverse relationship to socio-economic and cultural levels.

Concentration of Mass Media Ownership

Casual observation has led many Latin American politicians and intellectuals to voice concern regarding the prevailing patterns of mass media ownership in the countries of the region. Oligarchic and monopolistic media formations in several of these have been pointed out, for years, in non-scientific literature. Only recently, however, has research commenced to accumulate reliable and systematic evidence on the matter. Fragmentary data were first included in general economic and political studies of the region's underdeveloped condition. Later, in the last five years or less, some specific communication studies have centered their attention on the question of ownership and accumulated documentation in this area.

No general rigorous inventory for the region as a whole is yet in existence. The work of Peter Schenkel constitutes a very valuable first approach based upon data collected in Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Mexico and Peru. The basic questions asked by this researcher were: Who are the media owners? How many of the media does each

of them own? Do media owners also tend to be owners of commercial, industrial and agricultural firms? Do they have significant ties with the ruling political élites oriented against social change? Are there ties or dependency between these owners and extra-regional interests? The study specifies who owns what in mass communication in these five countries, presenting evidence of the tendencies towards concentration mentioned above. It then provides affirmative answers to the rest of the question and indicates that government policy and action to correct the situation are still quite inadequate.

Advertising as a Negative Force

Again, Latin American analysts have for long contended that advertising, given its decisive impact on the financing of mass media operations, influences many people to adopt certain undesirable behaviour. For instance, preference for trivial things, irrational purchasing, acquisition of superfluous habits, adherence to alien values, uncritical compliance with social norms convenient for the preservation of the status quo, and escape from reality as a form of "sociocultural narcosis". Casual observers claim that, due to the pressures of internal and external economic power centres, the advertising firms induce, and sometimes force, the media institutions to foster such behaviour.

Research in Latin America has not yet provided definite and substantive evidence for these claims. Empirical verifications of such effects of advertising on the mass media audience are either undisclosed or not in existence. There are, however, a few critical essays related to the topic.

Overwhelming U.S. Influence on Television

Another consistent contention of Latin American observers is that the main mass media institutions of the region are heavily dependent, both for information and for financing, on extra-regional firms, mostly located in the United States. This situation, they claim, accounts for much of the conservative, alienating, and mercantilistic orientation of those channels.

Systematic evidence in support of such assertions are beginning to be collected by researchers in several countries of the region, particularly in the case of television, advertising, comic strips and youth magazines.

In 1968, Estrada and Hopen summarized the television situation as follows:

"Throughout the continent the television stations are directly or indirectly dependent upon the major United States networks, and the greater the need for the latest technical equipment and trained technicians, the closer those links are. In Latin America, the United States has

a monopoly on the supply of new technology, basic film material, technical experts and, of course, large-scale capital needed to increase the size of the local investment."

The major portion of television business in Latin America is clearly dominated by U. S. interests and influence through the major television corporations, NBC, CBC and ABC. In relation to network operations, ABC holds the strongest position, operating through an external branch with leads to sub-regional networks, one for the Central American countries and the other for those in the south. In capital, technology, content and advertising, those Latin American stations linked to U. S. interests represent at least two thirds of the total television business of the region. The region spends over 80 million dollars per year in purchasing U. S. canned material alone.

A detailed account of the connections between U. S. television and that of Colombia, a country where - exceptionally - the medium is state-owned reveals that "... the influence exerted by U. S. television production business, U. S. advertisers and their clients, has been one of the decisive factors in determining the Colombian television system and its content".

"Wire information depends on the United States as our economies depend upon it. AP and UPI have the decisive weight in opinion formation in the average Latin American about the most important world events." This statement was made by Eleazar Diaz Rangel,a Venezuelan newsman. It was a United States newsman, James Markham, who first provided some systematic evidence in its support. He reported that foreign news in 7 Latin American dailies were supplied almost entirely by AP and UPI, and Agence France Press; UPI alone provided 47 per cent of all stories in these dailies.

Analyzing a day s content of 14 Latin American dailies, Diaz Rangel found that AP and UPI contributed 72 per cent of all their foreign stories. Later, a broader regional study which included 29 dailies found the percentages to be as follows: UPI, 50 per cent; AP 30 per cent and Agence France Press, 13 per cent.

The same three agencies were found to dominate not only news flow from the rest of the world to Latin America and from Latin America to the rest of the world but also the flow among the Latin American countries themselves concerning events taking place within their own territories. Research in the region has been able to substantiate with a few but eloquent studies the charge of extra-regional

monopoly of news. It has shown, at the same time, that there are no strong Latin American news agencies in operation that are able to significantly challenge that monopoly.

The process of international news flow and the nature of messages that flow between Latin America and the United States has captured the attention of a number of researchers. The latter wanted to know, specifically, the way news was being handled and the kind of "images" it instilled in the public on both sides of the wire. Their findings were quite consistent. First, UPI and AP were found to be the main sources of news for both areas of the world. Second, the United States is mostly a provider of news while Latin America is essentially a consumer. Third, distortion is a frequent event on both fronts.

Research has found that the bias affecting the handling of Latin American information in the United States appears to be systematic. Sensational, violent, bizzare and trivial events are preferred to matters significant to the existence and development of the region. Some information is suppressed and other information is distorted. This seems to occur in particular with events demonstrating social non-conformity with the native minorities in power, or where the U. S. influence is dominant in the economy, politics and culture of the region. This bias is very noticeable especially during Latin American pol-

itical crises in which the United States is directly involved, such as the Cuban revolution and the U. S. invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Mass Media and Education

In the past two decades, several Latin American countries have attempted to utilize mass media to serve their educational needs. The audio-visual approach in teaching has influenced formal elementary and secondary education and, in some case, even university training. Experiments have been made using combinations of a mass communication channel and periodical group meetings as a key device in out-of-school education for rural masses.

Nevertheless, two very important exceptions must be briefly acknowledged: radio-school research, conducted mostly in Colombia, and instructional television research, carried out for the most part in El Salvador.

The "radio-school" is a system of rural mass education native to the region. It was first established in Colombia a quarter of a century ago and basically consists of a series of special radio programs which are heard by small stable groups led by trained local assistants. The system has grown to be a very large and powerful organization, backed by the Catholic Church and the government. Moreover, it has inspired similar efforts in many other Latin American

countries.

The rural "radio forum" format - born in England, developed in Canada and applied notably in India and Ghana - was tested in two field experiments in Latin America.

A field experiment comparing the effectiveness of several communication strategies was conducted in Ecuador. It provided valuable information for community development and suggested that radio can, under given circumstances, be clearly advantageous.

A Stanford University resident team of researchers, assisted by local colleagues, carried out an extensive investigation of instructional television at the junior high level in El Salvador. The study included

a/ a history of the educational reform;

b/ an analysis of student learning, attitude change, and aspirations during the period 1968 - 1972;

c/ an examination of the interaction between community and classroom ITV and the teachers and educational reform; and finally

d/ the efficiency and costs of ITV and reform and administrative problems.

The experience suggested that, to be an effective instrument of change, major innovations such as television cannot simply be appended to traditional structures; rather they must be accompanied by multiple changes in other areas of the educational system. The researchers also concluded that

television did provide the necessary catalytic effect for educational reform in El Salvador.

Rural Development Communication

Due to the initiative of several international organizations and some U. S. and Latin American universities, for years communication research in the region has paid considerable and continuous attention to problems of rural communication. The majority of these studies was specifically devoted to the verification of the diffusion process of agricultural innovations, within a conceptual model in use in various parts of the world.

The model defined diffusion as that process by which an idea spreads from its source of invention or creation to its ultimate users or adopters. It considered an idea to be an innovation if it is perceived as new by individuals in the social system. Four crucial elements in the process are postulated: the innovation, its communication, the social system in which the innovation diffuses, and the time period in which the diffusion occurs. The model identified five stages in the diffusion process: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adaption.

It was within this frame of reference that the agricultural diffusion studies in the Latin American countries were conducted. The results were uniformly comparable and,

for the most part, much of those obtained in the United States and other parts of the world. However, they revealed at least one major difference: among the Latin American farmers, the influence of mass media on adoption of innovations is minimal or nil at practically every stage of the process. This came as no surprise because of the state of virtual non-communication in which the great majority of rural inhabitants of the Latin American countries lives.

Research appears so far to have neglected the interpersonal dimension of rural communication as well as communication through peasant organizations such as cooperatives, unions and community development associations.

Conceptual and Methodological Orientations

The summary description presented above on what has been investigated so far must be supplemented by information on how the inquest was conducted.

Influence of Europe and the United States

It is obvious that communication research in Latin America has followed conceptual and methodological orientations established by researchers in Europe and the United States. The effect of this, in essence, has meant that some studies have emphasized conceptual insight over

empirically drawn data whereas other studies have done exactly the opposite. Only exceptionally has a researcher attempted to obtain a balance between a quantitative and qualitative approach.

The influence of the classical European orientation is most evident in those areas of research such as History of Journalism and Communication Legislation. The influence of a modern European orientation is particularly strong in the area of Content Analysis of Picture-Story Fiction Magazines, Comic Books, Fan Magazines and School Textbooks.

The areas most directly influenced by a North American orientation are: Diffusion of Agricultural Innovations, Structure and Functions of Print and Electronic Mass Media, Experiments with Instructional Television, Special Formats of Radio Education and Audio-Visual Education in Group Communication Situations.

Finally, the areas where both types of European in addition to U. S. influence seem to be present, although in separate cases, are: Television Programming Content and Effects, and News Flow and Extra-Regional Influences on the Mass Communication System of the Region.

A General Appraisal

A seminar of experts on communication research in Latin America recently evaluated this activity and found

it affected by the following limitations:

1. A lack of a conceptual framework of its own.

2. An uncritical adoption of extra-regional methodologies, /some of which proved inadequate and others obsolete/ along with an absence of authentic national creation of appropriate methodologies.

3. A lack of an even minimum degree of systematization that would have facilitated use of the results in more than one country.

4. An exaggerated emphasis on descriptive and quantitative approaches to the exclusion of qualitative insights.

5. A preference for analyzing the communication phenomena out of context of political, socio-economic and cultural variables.

6. A preference for limited and partial research topics and exaggerated attention to press problems in lieu of an integrated perception of communication in a given society.

7. A total absence of policies and plans to orient the inquiry in general.

8. A lack of coordination which resulted in duplication of efforts and loss of experiences.

9. A preference for an interdisciplinary manner of working.

Critiques of the U.S. Model of Communication Research

This model appears to have come under heavy fire in the last few years from several quarters. Analysts in Latin America also have begun to contest the U. S. model that has permeated much research in the region. A frontal critique from Armand Mattelart can be summarized as follows:

1. U. S. communication research is characterized by its preoccupation with effects of mass media messages on audiences perceived as potential markets. It is also characterized by its concern with media functions in society.

2. Both types of research approaches have displaced the centre of gravity of the inquiry away from the media /the object/ to the audience /the subject/ given that their interest resides in detecting the people's motivations so as to render them amenable to commercial and political persuasion.

3. The techniques of investigation characteristic of the U. S. model are: mass audience survey and mass media content analysis.

4. Both techniques are adequate for market research requirements but inadequate for a critical and ideological analysis of the mass communication media.

5. Only manifest content is of interest for this kind of research because, although perhaps trivial or

misleading, it is empirically verifiable and reducible to statistics. Latent content, which can be highly significant, is ignored because it is not quantifiable. Often the result is superficial research centred on the refined measurement of the obvious.

6. The sociology that originated these techniques in itself limits a critical comprehension of the social system in which communication research operates. This sociology claims that its method is objective, neutral and value-free. However, analysis of this methodology reveals its pro status quo bias in that it never considers the alternative of the creation of a new system but rather presents "functional" adjustments to the old. What matters is to facilitate the functioning of the existing system, without ever questioning its validity, however dangerous that system may be for the future of society and man's integrity.

7. Thus, the techniques employed tend to be instruments of adjustment of the system and are geared towards suppressing critical points which may endanger the social equilibrium.

Mattelart concludes: "Mass communication sociology therefore becomes a tool to consolidate the principles upon which the social relationships are built, in this manner doing away with any possibility of investigating the place occupied by the sender of communications in

the power structure... Thus, empiricist sociology has become a co-salled scientific instrument dedicated to strengthening the rationalized mechanisms of social control."

Criticism is also starting to emerge from within the United States research community itself. Some scholars in this country have been affected by evaluations of U. S. research carried out in other parts of the world and are detecting certain pitfalls in the goals, optics and procedures of their own research traditions.

For example, Everett Rogers maintains that the very definition of communication "suffers from several intellectual shortcomings." He mentions the following:

"1. Although our definition stresses that communication is a process, communication scientists act otherwise... communication models specify certain stages in this process, and act to "stop-action".

"2. The predominant model of communication is a linear, left-to-right paradigm that implies a transmission approach to communication, like a bucket carries water... This mechanistic concept of the communication process aids understanding because of its simplicity, but it does great harm to reality. Worse, the linear models imply an autocratic, one-sided vision of human relationships...

"3. It ignores social structure..."

Furthermore, Rogers, who has conducted many studies in Latin America, concedes that many of the results of

development communication research carried out in the underdeveloped countries may be misdirected and incomplete because of "... the inappropriate use of culture-bound research methods /largely developed in the United States/..."

H. Felstehausen, a researcher with ample experience in Latin America, questions several aspects of development communication theory and research. He challenges two major conceptual fallacies.

The first is that resulting from the standard practice of choosing operational examples and analogies from experiences of developed rather than underdeveloped countries. He notes that this is particularly evident in a bias favouring technology /mainly that of the U. S./ as a correlate of communication phenomena and as a solution to the problems of underdevelopment. Felstehausen argues against the misconception by presenting a review of empirical studies which demonstrate that the communication process and the adoption of new technology cannot be separated from the factors defining the social, economic and political system. Correlation analyses, he contends, are of little value in "explaining" communication processes or in establishing their role in relation to national development. "Both development and communication can be shown to depend on resources, power relationships, organizational forms and other factors which are not adequately controlled in conventional analyses."

The other fallacy examined by Pelstehausen is the use of inappropriate and often untested theoretical models which cause distorted perceptions of the role of communication in relation to social and behavioural systems. The analyst feels that it is fruitless to speak of a separate "theory of communication" since communication should be viewed as a subsystem dependent upon the broader social system. Thus its study should fall within a theory of "social interaction" in which communication is treated as a process that unveils and transforms reality in the minds of both senders and receivers.

Another U. S. scholar with extensive experience in Latin American communication research, John McNelly, points to the excessive preoccupation with attitudes in U. S. communication research, instead of with information, the root of beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. He attributes this to the persuasion orientation of the research, observing that: "Much attitude research has tended to deal with relatively trivial or shallow preferences in purchasing or voting ... Little attention is given to deeper cognitive structure or to sociological antecedents."

Mc Nelly is among those who have pointed out the implicit élitist bias of some U. S. research paradigms such as the "two-step flow model" which has been applied in some cases in Latin America. The research carried out using this model is content to discover that, although it was evident that the marginal masses have very little direct exposure

to the mass media, they are indirectly reached by them through interpersonal contacts with "opinion leaders". Others are beginning to demonstrate the fallacy of this "trickle-down" argument which is little more than an excuse to cover up the inaccessibility to mass media messages in which the majority of the population of underdeveloped countries is kept.

Critiques of Research on the Diffusion of Agricultural Innovations

A considerable number of innovation diffusion studies were conducted in Latin America during the sixties. The model of this research carried out in rural Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and Costa Rica, has recently been confronted with serious objections by both U. S. and Latin American analysts.

The central criticism is that the model ignores the decisive influence of the social structure on the individual decisions involved in adopting or reflecting the innovations.

Felstehausen concluded:

"The tendency to equate communication problems with problems in disseminating technical information has led many extension and assistance agencies to virtually ignore social and institutional structures in promoting development. This is even the case in areas where field workers and educators realize that information alone can-

not change local conditions... The manner and rate with which new technology is adopted cannot be interpreted independently from the social and economic system where the technology is introduced."

Diffusion studies have found that certain variables are consistently and positively related to the adoption rate for agricultural innovations; for example the variables size of farm, income level, educational level, social prestige and exposure to mass media which at the same time correlate positively with each other. However, according to several analysts, these studies have failed to perceive these variables as parts of a broader and more crucial factor: society's power structure. It is this structure that determines the behavioural characteristics of the other adopter categories ranging from "innovators" to "laggards" identified by this research. Diaz Bordenave adds:

"Today we are aware that our countries, their economies and their people - and above all the farmers - are dependent upon decisions made for them by international forces and that, within our countries, the rural areas occupy the lower level in a pyramid of vertical domination and often exploitation."

Most research appears to have dealt only with communication understood as an aseptic urban-biased transmission of new skills, tools and material to improve agri-

culture... regardless of whether the structural situation of the intended audience makes development possible or impossible for the majority. In this regard, Felstehausen concludes:

"Communication effectiveness, therefore, has to be evaluated not just on the basis of whether new information influences the behaviour of individuals, but whether it influences behaviour in such ways as to change the norms and functions of the institutions where those individuals interact."

Studies have suggested how insignificant these psychological-individual variables may be. Rogers attributes the emphasis research has placed so far on individual variables to the fact that many early communication researchers come from backgrounds in psychology. Therefore they tended to define the social problems studied in terms of "person--blame" rather than "system-blame".

Diaz Bordenave notes that the classical diffusion model was conceived within conditions substantially different than those prevailing in Latin America and was based on an ideological framework that contradicts the reality of this region. For these reasons, the questions asked by Latin American researchers who applied the model uncritically do not touch the issues affecting rural development in this part of the world. Thus he has proposed a new set of research questions that included structural and infra-structural variables that correspond to the reality of the region:

"The list may be accused of being more of a political program than a research perspective. That is all right. It should be. Because if there is one thing we are learning in Latin America it is that in communication and adoption of innovations pure research that is ideologically free and politically neutral does not exist and cannot exist. The scientist who says that he wants to do research without committing himself to changing rural society is in fact as ideologically committed as the other who believes in research as a tool for human and social change".

On the Mythology of a Value-Free Science

The conviction quoted above is gaining wide acceptance in Latin America among social scientists in general and communication researchers in particular. A renowned Colombian economist and social analyst asserts:

"The concept of a "pure social science", divested of ideological background, is a simple conceptual artifice and lacks theoretical meaning in the field of the social sciences... If there are no pure social sciences, neither are there neutral social sciences, unrelated to value system, to social science and to the activity that Latin American, African or Asian peoples carry out to modify the structures which have rendered them backward, poor and dependent".

Any research that ignores these observations, and assumes that scientific thinking is independent, strengthens the fallacious ideological conceptions that all mechanisms of domination produce.

THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR THE CREATION OF INDIGENOUS MASS MEDIA IN AFRICA

by Siegmund BRAUNER,
German Democratic Republic

From the relatively extensive and diverse range of questions concerning the significance of mass communication media in the young countries of Africa I have chosen one particular problem with which I would like to deal in the present discussion: the role of national languages in the creation of indigenous mass media.

In view of the fact that by the end of the colonial era capitalist production methods were still in their embryonic stage in Africa and that the development of no sub-Saharan country can be regarded as completed, the question quite properly arises whether we can already speak of national languages in the Marxist-Leninist conception of the nation, or whether any concessions have to be made here as far as the use of this term by African and occasionally other authors is concerned /national in the state sense but also in the sense of "native", as opposed to a West European language, which

is still frequently used as the official language in certain countries/. Marxist-Leninist philology gives a wholly affirmative answer to the first part of the question, as the creation of nations and thus of national languages constitues an universal historical process, which does not leave out any continent but does have in the African context a number of highly specific conditions of development:

1. While in certain European countries, as Lenin succinctly put it, "... the broad and rapid development of the forces of production under capitalism... required... large territories linked and unified in a state... in which alone the bourgeois class can join forces and thereby also its essential counterpart, the class of proletarians - with all old, medieval, caste, narrowly parochial, small-nation, religious and other barriers being torn down" and decisive steps towards national development and stabilization were taken on the basis of a relatively homogeneous language situation, the bourgeoisie prevented a similar development in Africa by its arsenal of colonial political measures, beginning with the bleeding of the continent as a result of the slave trade, which cost the lives of approximately 100 million Africans, to systematic plundering and cultural deformation. Apart from preventing socio-economic progress one of the most fateful acts was the forceful fixing of borders dictated solely by power considerations and political interests and the

opportunities seized by the colonial powers, which simply ignored and thereby paralysed the already existing seeds of national development. As a result, the newly formed African countries had to face on their own territories frequently complicated ethnically enforced divisions of ethnic tribes with, in part, very diverse socio-economic development stages beginning with disintegrating tribal communities and reaching to large national groups, which have already entered the process of transformation into national entities, ethnic units which had often been deliberately and artificially separated from each other, yet, on the other hand, very diverse ethnic communities had been compelled to live side by side. As it is, however, unrealistic and impossible at present to carry out a general revision of the borders imposed by colonialism, no other alternative is therefore left open to the African states but to regard this ethnic complexity and the consequent language heterogeneity as well as the varying levels of development pulling to the creation of a nation within the presently valid frontiers as long-term established factors, which have to be taken into account in any conception of national development.

2. The unfavourable relationship between the ethnic structure of the African continent and the linguistic situation becomes apparent when we draw a comparison with the conditions in Europe. The unfavourable natural

conditions in wide stretches of Africa /a large proportion of inaccessible jungles and desertland, large territories cut off from the sea, etc./ used to have under colonial rule a particularly negative influence on the development of the forces of production and, for the most part, led to an exceptionally long continuation of pre-capitalist social structures which disintegrated only very slowly into pre-national and national communities.

3. In keeping with the principle of "Divide and rule" the colonial powers often skilfully incited existing or artificially created resentments and conflicts between individual ethnic groupings, which the young African states have been able to overcome only with considerable effort and frequently at great cost in human lives. Moreover, this continues to imperil national progress even after the attainment of state independence.

With the African continent presently having a population far in excess of three hundred millions African philology assumes to be dealing with some one thousand languages, that is one half of all languages existing on earth; it must be admitted, however, that the lines between language and dialect can often be drawn only tentatively and inexactly. Bourgeois African philology, in particular ethnography, has for a long time stretched itself to uncover the greatest possible number of languages in order to drive home the point that there is ethnic and therefore also social and political chaos in Africa, which

can only be overcome by a strong colonial system. In the field of linguistic policy this "argument" was used to justify the ascendancy of the imposed European languages.

But even in the colonial era in Africa a number of widespread linguas franca came into being, which could approach European conditions in the number of people who spoke them. This is yet another expression of the formation of larger tribes. Colonialism was unable to arrest this development as it needed them as a medium for the intensive acquisition of colonial territories; the acquisition of East African colonies thus led to the rapid spread of Swahili while Bambara and Wolof fulfilled important functions as languages in the French colonial army. On the other hand, however, colonialism succeeded in controlling these processes within certain bounds.

These languages played a special part in the struggle against colonialism which usually took place within the state territories set up by the colonial powers. The setting up of economic and political centres and the participation of most ethnic groupings in the direct resistance movement enhanced the social function of most of these linguas franca and simultaneously speeded up the process of assimilation and disintegration of the smaller ethnic groups. The integration of all ethnic units in national, political and economic life, the common historical fate redoubled the efforts to attain state independence. As these processes take place in fixed national

and state boundaries and are consciously placed into the service of nation-building these languages can no longer be regarded as some kind of linguas franca only but must be accorded a national function. If we proceed from the premise that, as W. Schmidt quite recently emphasized, the classics of Marxism-Leninism regarded the term "national language" as an historical concept and used it unequivocally for the birth and development of a nation, a term which relates to the norm "... which is formed in the course of economic and political concentration, and whose new quality as against earlier existing forms rests in the fact that the language can function as a medium of communication throughout the territory of a nation", then we are completely justified in speaking of national languages in Africa, too.

Today the situation in Africa appears to offer several ways of solving the problem of the future development of national languages.

Within certain state territories the formation of one nation with one national language is taking place alongside existing numerically small national minorities. This is, for instance, the case in the Somali Democratic Republic where, following certain measures of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the Somali language was established as the sole official language on the basis of a standardized norm founded on a degree of identity between

the Somali language and Oromo amounting to some 80 per cent in grammar and to 50 per cent in the supply of words; since only about 50,000 persons speak Bantu excellent conditions have been created for the continued development of Somali as a national language, which in turn helps the consolidation process of the "Somali" nation and indicates the correctness of the path of progressive development taken by the country. As further examples of the creation of a national language on the basis of relative ethnic homogeneity one can give Rwanda, Burundi and the Central African Republic /with the national language Sango/.

And finally, several national languages can function more or less on an equal footing as a result of the existence of several national integration nuclei within one state territory. The classical example in this respect is Nigeria but similar conditions also exist in other African countries, such as Sierra Leone, Zaire, Guinea, and the Ivory Coast.

In these and other cases the justified question has been sometimes raised whether one of the emerging national languages should not assume the function of a state-wide vehicle of communication in the place of one of the European languages. The example of Nigeria, where in the years following independence many people pleaded for Hausa as the numerically strongest language, indicates, however, quite clearly what difficulties and problems such a measure would encounter, particularly if it were

imposed by decree or even under pressure. The Republic of Zambia therefore abandoned the idea to give the numerically strongest language of the country, Demba, official status, such as enjoyed by English, in order to prevent inter-tribal tension from erupting.

As we shall yet see this also has certain consequences on the building of national mass media, in which national languages do not yet find adequate application in accordance with their potential possibilities. So in the constitutions of sub-Saharan states, which used to be French or Belgian colonies, in which national languages existed, Kirundi has official status next to French and so has the Malagasy language in Madagascar.

And yet the introduction of national African languages into the official sphere of society has been a demand of the progressive forces of Africa unequivocally put forward already in the course of the struggle against colonialism; in most countries this demand is still being discussed in this or that form even after the gaining of state sovereignty.

It is no accident that the states which concentrated within the framework of non-capitalist development or of their consistent orientation to national democracy on optimal national, political, economic and cultural independence and sovereignty, attached extraordinary importance to this demand and obtained in part remarkable

results and experiences in its realization. The Somali Democratic Republic linked, for example, the introduction of Somali as the national language with the justified expectation that in the course of the progressive development of the country the Somali nation would rally still closer together.

If popular education and national culture are to be built up in a genuinely democratic way and on a mass basis the most important national African languages can in no circumstances be left out of account. The conference of UNESCO experts on the promotion of national cultures and national education held in Yaounde, Cameroon, in 1970, emphasized in a remarkable resolution: "The languages spoken by the African peoples have an irreplaceable and decisive part to play in the establishment of a system of education and the widespread dissemination of science and technology, and of the authentic national cultures. The African language in the home and in daily life is the best medium for African thought... Lastly, only education in African languages can bridge the gulf between the élite and the masses which education in non-African languages creates, and stimulate the harmonious development of the African countries. For Africa, only education given in African languages can be truly economical, genuinely national, and accessible to the entire population."

Finally, there is the demand for the rehabilitation of African culture, which can be truly brought about solely by the medium of African languages. This demand found its most enthusiastic and consistent champion in the President of the Guinean Republic, Ahmed Sékou Touré.

The establishment of national African languages in the official sphere of social life is a long-term process which is not straightforward, which takes place in keen competition and linguistic coexistence with European languages; these are at the same time international vehicles of intercourse between peoples speaking different languages, they enjoy great traditions and are used in all important fields of life, although hardly 10 to 15 per cent of the local population master them sufficiently well. Support for national languages does not therefore involve the immediate banning of English, French or Portuguese. Far from it. The number of Africans who know them or learn them has increased still further in most African states after independence. This has been due not least to the tremendous efforts of educational authorities to meet the great need for cadres with this kind of knowledge, which after all is in line with the general international trend. With the aid of these languages Africa is gaining broader access to international science and technology. Not infrequently certain sections of the population adopt as their mother tongue variations of English or French, especially in

large urban areas of some countries /as, for example, Nigeria; see Ayo Bamgbose, The English Language in Nigeria, in: The English Language in West Africa, London 1971/.

This situation is also characteristic for the integration of national languages into the system of national mass media in Africa, as will be illustrated by examples from selected states with priority being given to the press rather than the radio or television. In sound broadcasting generally the national languages of Africa play a bigger part than in the press for obvious reasons - illiteracy need not be taken into account. In comparison with sound broadcasting television does not play a major role in Africa because it is still in its infancy; however, a number of experimental TV transmissions in national languages do exist but they restrict themselves for lack of their own productions to news and current event programmes, as in Nigeria where the Ibadan /Yoruba/ and Kaduna /Hausa/ stations transmit programmes in the national languages, or in Zanzibar /programmes in Swahili broadcast by the first television station in Africa in colour/; in Senegal there are programmes in the Wolof language, etc.

1. Guinea: the eight most important national languages /Pul, Malinke, Susu, Kissi, Loma, Kpelle, Bassari and Konyagi/ are integrated into official social life. Radio Conakry broadcasts daily - in addition to

French - news and announcements in these languages. Until 1970 the local paper "Horoya" printed important articles also in these eight languages. Following Portuguese aggression in 1970 this practice came to an abrupt end for no apparent reason.

2. Mali: Radio Bamaka broadcasts regularly in the languages Bamara, Sarakolle, Songhai, Peul and Tamashegh. Since 1971, in addition to the French-language daily "L'Essor", a monthly is being published with a circulation of 6,000 copies in Bamara, which is the most important national language, entitled "Kibaru" /News/ and this monthly is all the more important as it is passed on from hand to hand in both towns and the countryside, and thus has a much wider readership than suggested by the number of direct subscribers. "Kibaru" is mainly intended for those who in the recent past have been able to get rid of the curse of illiteracy and informs its readers in simple language about national and international events. In 1972 UNESCO awarded the monthly the Krupskaya Prize.

3. In the other French-speaking countries of West and Central Africa no major newspaper or magazine is published in any of the national languages. This is the obvious heritage of France's "direct" colonial administration which attempted to bind all Africans to the French language as the language of politics, education

and culture. This attitude is still being fostered by the francophile policy of certain West African states /such as Senegal, the Ivory Coast, etc./. Of considerable interest are the efforts of the Congolese paper "Etumba", the central organ of the Congolese Labour Party, which since the seventies is printing its column "Mateya ma Politique" in Lingala, the most important national language, to explain topical political problems as well as basic questions of Marxism-Leninism to broad sections of the population and to Labour Party members in their mother tongue.

4. Nigeria: the most densely populated African state has quantitatively the most extensive press. The most important national languages, such as Hausa /with 30 million speakers/ and Yoruba /with more than 15 millions/, play, however, a very modest role in it. Out of a total of 1968 papers appearing daily with an approximate circulation of some 470,000 copies, only 12,000 copies represent "Irohin Imole" /Yoruba/ and the mixed "Daily Comet" /English-Hausa/. Of the weeklies published in a total circulation of some 200,000 copies the most important is the Hausa-language "Giskiya tafi Kwabo" which has a considerable impact in the northern provinces of the country. Mention should also be made of the magazine "Akede Eko" which appears in English and Yoruba and is published in 5,000 copies.

5. Other English-speaking states of West Africa: in these countries - Ghana, Sierra Leone, Gambia and Liberia - the press is almost exclusively English. Until 1966 attempts were made in certain newspapers to publish also contributions in national languages, especially in Twi, Fante, Ewe and Hausa. These attempts were at first carried out with some enthusiasm but could not shake the dominant position of English.

In Sierra Leone the party organ of the All People's Congress "We Yone" /"We are at home"/ occasionally uses the expressions and style of the Krio language, which is spoken mainly in the coastal regions and is a mixed language based on English.

The radio in these countries broadcasts, however, daily extensive programmes in the national languages of Ghana: Twi, Fante, Ewe, Hausa, Dagomba, Gan and Adangme; and of Sierra Leone - Krio, Mende, Temne, Kono, Limba and Malinke.

6. Ethiopia: the policy of Ethiopian mass media takes into account the fact that Amharic, which is spoken by some 15 million inhabitants, is the most important national language as well as the official language of the country. On the other hand scant account is taken of the important language Tigrinya which is spoken in the economically more advanced province of Eritrea, probably for fear of possible separatist tendencies, and this fact occasionally gives rise to highly

critical comments in this area. The press reflects this situation: The government daily "Addis Zämän" /12,000 copies in 1968/ writes only in Amharic and the monthlies "Ethiopia Aujourd´hui" /Amharic-French/, "Mänän" /Amharic--Italian/, "Sandäk Alamtchin" /Amharic-Arabic/ and "Voice of Ethiopia" /Amharic-English/ appear bilingually, while the Eritrean press, such as "Giornale dell´Eritrea", "Il Mattino del Lunedi", "Il Bolletino" and "Il Quotidiano Eritrea" /Italian/ as well as Zämän /Arabic/ are mostly published in foreign languages.

7. Uganda: Since 1968 six newspapers of this country have been published in the Luganda language, the national language which particularly after independence gained in significance as against Swahili. The papers concerned are "Taifa Empya", "Uganda Eyogera", "Munno", "Yambuze", "Kodheyo" and "Obugaga bwa Uganda". Apart from these, three English-language and one mixed /African Pilot - English-Luganda/ papers are being published.

8. By its decision to introduce Swahili as the national language into all spheres of social life and into secondary school education Tanzania took into account the linguistic situation in both parts of the country and aims thereby at creating a single Tanzanian nation. It uses this measure to continue unswervingly on its path of progressive development.

An important part in this effort is played by the party and trade union press. Swahili newspapers with

a relatively large circulation hold a dominant position in national life. These papers include "Uhuru" /"Freedom" - organ of TANU/, "Mfanyakazi" /"The Worker" - organ of NUTA/, "Ngurumo" /"Thunder"/, "Nchi Yetu" /"Our Country" - a popular illustrated magazine/ and in Zanzibar the paper "Ukweli ikidhihiri uwongo hujitenga" /formerly known under the name "Kweupe" - "Morning Sky", organ of the Afro-Shirazi Party/. The impact of the press on Tanzanian public opinion is fairly great as Swahili has a century-old written tradition.

In Kenya the process of recognizing Swahili as the national language is still in progress. This measure is to be implemented within the framework of the Five-Year Plan. President Jomo Kenyatta had this to say about the measure as early as 1969: "... that Kiswahili as our National Language shall be encouraged and be enforced by all means and at all places in Kenya; and that Kiswahili shall be used in the National Assembly". An interesting fact in this Kenyan process is that Swahili has no major ethnic basis here, that however all ethnic groups recognise it for the most part as their national language. This is confirmed by sociological and linguistic research studies carried out by Bernd Heine in Kenya applying to about four-fifths of the population. Heine found that already between 60 to 70 per cent of the inhabitants of Kenya speak Swahili /while only between 10 and 20 per cent know English/. Swahili predominates by some 80 per

cent in the coastal areas and towns like Nairobi, its knowledge declines to between 50 and 70 per cent in the central highlands while in the north about one third of the population have a good command of it. Another highly interesting fact is that among Nilot tribes the proportion of Swahili speakers is as high as among the Bantu. People asked about the future national language answered as follows: a/ in favour of Swahili 53.6 per cent,

b/ in favour of the mother tongue of the interviewed person 24.8 per cent,

c/ in favour of Swahili and of the mother tongue 11.7 per cent,

d/ in favour of Swahili and English 6.8 per cent,

e/ in favour of English only 1.1 per cent,

f/ in favour of the mother tongue, English and Swahili simultaneously 0.8 per cent,

g/ in favour of other combinations 2.2 per cent.

The 73 per cent proportion of Swahili must be regarded as a strong base for a possible democratic decision favouring Swahili while a decisive role will continue to be played for a considerable time to come in certain official spheres by local languages /52 per cent of the questioned women were in their favour/ as well as by English /in foreign relations, commerce, higher education and the administration/.

These investigations show the groundlessness of the fears about the introduction of a national language in Kenya and isolate the forces which are aware of the popularity of Swahili and occasionally give it their preference but are reluctant to take decisive steps in order to change the present linguistic policy in favour of Swahili.

A number of publications in Swahili demonstrates its predominant role: "Baraza" /"Rank" - circulation 42,000 copies in 1968/, "Taifa" /"Nation" - 31,000 copies/, the illustrated "Nyoto Afrika" /"The Stars of Africa"/ and others.

The Somali Democratic Republic: With the introduction of Somali as the national language the whole national press is published in this language. The Supreme Revolutionary Council deliberately uses this measure to enlist the broad sections of the population in the striving for a non-capitalist development.

11. Malawi: The weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies of the country take for the most part account of the Nyanja language, the role of which is supported by the state as a nationwide communication medium. The government organ "Za Ku Malwi" /15,000 copies/ as well as the Presbyterian paper "Kuunika" are both published in this language; it is also used concurrently with English by such important publications as "The African" /15,000 copies/, "Malawi News" /12,000/, "Moni" /8,000/, and "The Times".

12. Madagascar. In terms of total circulation newspapers published in the Malagasy language are in a clear lead /46,500 copies/, two papers with a circulation of 26,000 are printed in Malagasy and French and another two /9,000 copies/ in French only.

This quite incomplete account of the role of national news media in African national languages provides at first sight only a very rough picture of present possibilities and of their significance. Sound broadcasting and the press are today in the very centre of information policy in Africa both with regard to African states themselves as well as with regard to countries outside Africa. National and international radio stations have for many years been utilizing very intensively the specific opportunities which they possess for providing topical information on national and international events. The spoken word in which the African is especially interested is becoming highly effective. The smallest transistor radio will today furnish extensive news coverage in the remotest parts of the country often under conditions of group listening /and ensuing discussions/ in families, villages, and other communities.

International broadcasting stations deliberately use for their information services such important languages as Swahili, Hausa and Amharic but also minor tongues such as Lingala /Congo/, Zulu, and Bambara because they are a factor which cannot be underestimated in the ideological

discussion between imperialism and Socialism on a world scale. The station Radio Berlin International, for instance, has for years been broadcasting in Swahili programmes for East Africa and reports on the life and role of the first socialist state of the German nation.

The developing African national languages press will still have to struggle against many difficulties which are partly due to the colonial heritage: illiteracy, a deformed culture, inadequate printing facilities, insufficient printing technology. However, particularly young national states are increasingly making use of its specific possibilities in the national consolidation process, in the building of education and adult education systems, in stimulating, supporting and rehabilitating national culture and cultural traditions, and, last but not least, as an important instrument in the sense of social progress. It is not, perhaps, necessary to emphasize that the significance of the press published in national languages will continue to grow.

SUMMARY

The development of national languages is of major importance for establishing indigenous mass media in Africa. One must proceed from the fact that there are some 1,000 languages on the continent which are spoken by a population of more than 300 millions, it often being

impossible to clearly define the boundaries between language and dialect. Such a multitude of languages naturally hampers the process of national consolidation, the establishment of a national educational system as well as the advancement and rehabilitation of national cultures and cultural traditions.

For this reason, the socially leading forces of state territories have proceeded to further national languages - for this is what they are, since in Marxist-Leninist African philology the view is taken that the development of nations and national languages is a process of universal history - in several ways:

- deliberate support for o n e main language, if there are some numerically small national minorities /Somalia/,
- development of a national language usually spoken by a numerically very large and in most cases growing ethnic entity of a state /Tanzania/, within the framework of ethnic heterogeneity, which may be differently expressed in individual cases, and coexistence with the languages of other major nationalities,
- if there are several national nuclei of integration within one state, s e v e r a l national languages may be treated and furthered in a more or less equal fashion /Guinea, Nigeria/.

The development of national African languages is a prolonged and by no means uncomplicated process occurring in keen competition and linguistic coexistence with European languages which are at the same time international means of communication and have a long-standing tradition of use in all important spheres of social life. Support for national languages does, therefore, not mean an immediate ban of English, French or Portuguese. Since they continue to give access to international science and technology and the press continues to have an élitist character in many places, they are still being used in the system of national media. In contrast to this, the national languages of Africa are playing a bigger role in radio and television as these two media do not have to allow for illiteracy which still dominates the scene.

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